

IMPACT OF GOVERNMENT POLICY ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC
CONDITION OF SCHEDULED CASTES IN RURAL AREAS
(A MICRO STUDY - IN DISTRICT AGRA)

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THE PREFACE

In this study, an attempt has been made to evaluate the impact of Government Policy on the Socio-Economic Condition of Scheduled Castes in a rural area.

The genesis of the Scheduled Castes can be traced to the origin of the caste system in India. Every Hindu village segregated a group of houses outside the normal village area, where these people, because of their social stigma, lived under the most humiliating and miserable conditions. Both socially and economically they were the most deprived sections of our society. In the post-Independence era, the Government started the process of planned development to achieve growth with social justice, by initiating action on many fronts to provide better and humane living conditions for the Scheduled Castes. An evaluation of development programmes and schemes assumes importance not only from the point of view of research but also for providing a feedback to the administrators, about the effectiveness of these programmes/schemes. Since, a majority of the Scheduled Caste population is in rural areas, it was considered appropriate to conduct such a study in a rural area.

The major objective of this study, conducted in Agra District of Uttar Pradesh, is to assess the impact of the facilities and privileges extended to the Scheduled Castes on the economic front and to analyse the overall situation on the social front.

Such a study indeed demanded intensive efforts as the possibilities of obtaining authentic data, particularly the time - series data, was a difficult task in view of the fact that bulk of the Scheduled Castes ~~were~~ uneducated and illiterate and consequently kept no records. Some difficulties were thus faced in the field. But inspite of these hurdles, the data collected does throw some light on the impact of Government efforts to improve the socio-economic condition of the Scheduled Castes. The study also succeeds to some extent, at drawing attention to the inherent drawbacks of certain programmes.

The Report consists of seven chapters. Chapter I which is an introductory chapter, describes at length the general plight of the Scheduled Castes. It also spells out various constitutional provisions and programmes that have been adopted for their upliftment. Chapter II explains the objectives and methodological aspects of the study. While Chapter III gives a detailed description of district Agra, Chapter IV narrates the socio-economic conditions of the two sample villages, selected for the study. An attempt has been made in Chapter V to give a detailed account of the socio-economic characteristics of the sample households. The focus here, is on caste, occupation, literacy, income and asset changes that took place between 1970 and 1980. In Chapter VI an analysis of the impact of various schemes on the Scheduled Caste household has been made.

The awareness among the respondents about the programmes and schemes and their views about their implementation have also been discussed in this chapter. The major findings of the study together with suggestions for improvement, have been given in the last chapter (chapter VII).

It is hoped that suggestions made in the Report would be found useful and that these could be made operative, to improve the condition of **the Scheduled Castes**.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The Scheduled Castes are socially and economically the most deprived sections of our society. The term Scheduled Caste does not stand for a particular caste but constitutes a group of such people who were considered to be untouchables or of low castes. The 1961 census placed the Scheduled Caste population at 64,417,366 which was 14.67% of the total population. According to the 1971 census figures, their population was 80 million which was 14.6% of the total population.¹

The Scheduled Castes include a number of castes at different levels of socio-economic development. Though the Scheduled Castes are spread or dispersed in different states, a little more than half live in four states, namely Uttar Pradesh (48.5 million), West Bengal (8.8 million), Bihar (7.9 million), and Tamil Nadu (7.3 million). While the Adivasis or Indian tribal minorities are mainly found to be living only in some border areas, or in hilly and forest tracts, deep in the hinterland, the Scheduled Castes, on the other hand are found to co-exist with caste Hindus in practically every village, town and city. They are thus woven into the fabric of village life, when they enter into working relationships with the other castes.

1. Government of India, Census Report, 1971.

We have to go back to the origins of the caste system to trace the origin of the Scheduled Castes. As the traditional theory of chaturvarnaya would have it, those who sprang from the mouth of Brahma (the creator) were called the Brahmins, from the arms were called the Kshatryas, from the thighs were called the Vaishyas and from the feet were called the Sudras. As the Sudras were supposed to have sprung from the lowest part of the body, they were given the lowest position in the Varna hierarchy. The Scheduled Castes are said to belong to the Sudra Varna. The untouchables among the Scheduled Castes, however, fall outside the caste system (Avarnas) and are called the fifth (Panchamas). Though their communities were outside the pale of Hindu social structure, they were crucial to the normal functioning of Hindu life. The taboos and manas of Hindu life forbade members of the four castes to follow certain professions, the unclean menial occupations associated with pollution and degradation. As a result of this, a parallel society came into existence which consisted of castes, outside the four varnas, who performed those essential tasks. Every Hindu village segregated a group of houses outside the normal village area, where these people, because of their social stigma, lived under the most inhuman and miserable conditions. In practice, however, these castes were integrated into the local Jati system in the village through the complex Jajmani exchange of goods and services among various castes, but always receiving a raw deal from the caste Hindus. This hierarchical mode of existence in due course came to be accepted as a way of life.

Forced into believing in the theory of Karma, these unfortunate people, resigned to their fate, suffered silently, the indignities imposed on them down through the ages.

The term 'Scheduled Castes' as such is of recent origin. The Simon Commission which visited India in 1935, was the first to use this term, for defining these castes. The members of the Constituent Assembly later decided in favour of adopting this term and accordingly incorporated it in the Constitution under Article 341, which reads as follows:-

Scheduled Castes means such castes, races or tribes as are deemed under Article 341 to be the Scheduled Castes for the purpose of the Constitution of India.

Another term, commonly used to describe the Scheduled Castes is 'Harijan' meaning children of God, the name which Gandhi affectionately gave them.

Unlike the tribal communities in India who have communal ownership/control and management over lands, forests and other resources, the Scheduled Castes are devoid of ownership of any productive resources. This makes them economically, the poorest of the poor, leaving them to toil in the most unremunerative, degrading and humiliating occupations. Traditionally, predominantly rural, they are mainly landless agricultural labourers and marginal farmers, in many cases indebted beyond redemption and commonly hold under varying degrees of serfdom in different parts of the country. According to an estimate for the year

1977-78, of the 290 million people living below the line of poverty, 160 million were below 75% of the poverty line, with the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, constituting the bulk of them.²

Ritually, the Scheduled Castes are below the 'pollution line' and in many parts of the country, they still cannot enter temples patronised by caste Hindus nor go near the wells used by them. Other forms of social discrimination are also practised against them like non-admission to eating places etc. Surprisingly, even the educated among the upper castes have not been able to shed their prejudices. Thus, the Scheduled Castes face twin inequalities - social and economic.

Often the victims of high caste atrocities, many of them have lost their lives fighting for their rights. Atrocities on the Scheduled Castes, which is a gruesome reality of Indian society, have of late, started assuming gigantic dimensions. During 1976, 1977, and 1978 as many as 6,197, 10,379 and 15,053 atrocity cases against Scheduled Castes were reported. Out of these, the largest number of cases in 1978, were reported from Uttar Pradesh (5,660), followed by Madhya Pradesh (3,240), Bihar (1,911), Maharashtra (1,046), Rajasthan (886), Kerala (767), Gujarat (540) etc. etc.³ In order to escape from this torture,

2. Government of India, Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, (Twenty Sixth Report) 1978-79.

p.1.

3. Ibid., p.2.

many have tried taking shelter under some other religion. The Meenakshi Puram incident and other such incidents are a pointer to the sense of desperation the Scheduled Castes have reached.

In the educational field too, the Scheduled Caste lag far behind the rest of the population. In this respect some states present a poorer picture than the others. Among Scheduled Castes in the rural areas, the percentage of illiteracy in Bihar was 94.16 (males 89.12 percent and females 99.26 per cent); in Rajasthan it was 92.77 (males 86.64 and females 99.45) and in⁴ Uttar Pradesh it was 90.89 (males 84.23 and females 98.26).

Realising the gravity of the situation, the founding fathers of our Constitution were prompt in making special provisions and reservations for the upliftment of the Scheduled Castes. This, it was felt, was the minimum the nation could do, to undo the harm and injustice it had done to these people, over the ages. Besides the legal provisions, the Directive Principles of State Policy are also a pointer to the special responsibility the state has towards improving their lot. In this, the framers of our Constitution were largely influenced by the teachings of Gandhi. The Government under its various welfare and developmental programmes in general and poverty removal programmes in particular, aims to give extra attention to the welfare of the Scheduled Castes.

4. Ibid., p.6.

Constitutional Safeguards

Article 46 of the Constitution casts a special responsibility and obligation upon the Union and the States, to protect the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes from Social injustice and all other forms of exploitation. Though Article 46 was included in the chapter on "Directive Principles of State Policy" (which therefore make them unenforceable in the court of law), they have been none the less declared fundamental in the governance of the country.

Among the constitutional safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes, is Article 17, which abolishes the practice of untouchability and throws open Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus. The practice of untouchability in any form is an offence punishable in the court of law. However this Act, proved ineffective when put into practice, because of some lacuna which permitted the offender to escape punishment. Hence to overcome these shortcomings the "Untouchability (offence) Amendment and Miscellaneous Provision Bill, 1972", was passed by the Parliament with certain modifications, in September, 1976. The name of the Principal Act, was thus changed to "Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955" which came into force from 19th Nov, 1976. This Act not only tightens the penal provisions, but also provides for the punishment of a public servant, found wanting in the discharge of his duty in the investigation of any offence punishable under this Act. The Central Government has been charged with the

responsibility of Co-ordinating the measures taken by the State Governments. The Central Government is required to place on the table of each House of Parliament, a report on the measures taken by it and by the State Governments, in pursuance of the provision under Section 15-A(1) and 15-A(2) of this Act.

Other Measures

The Bonded labour system (Abolition) Act 1976, is yet another step the Government has taken to put an end to the exploitation of the weaker sections of which the Scheduled Castes constitute the most vulnerable group.

In the educational field schemes have been drawn up for providing assistance to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students both at the pre-matric and post-matric levels and for reservation of seats in professional and non professional courses. Also, a fixed quota of Government jobs are reserved for them. Various other concessions by way of age relaxation as well as relaxing the minimum qualifications prescribed for Government Services have been extended to them.

Another important safeguard relates to the reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Lok Sabha as well as the State Legislative Assemblies. The Panchayati Raj Acts as enacted by the different State Governments provide reservation of seats for these communities, in the Panchayati Raj bodies.

The Constitution not only provides safeguards but also an agency to investigate all matters pertaining to the safeguards, in the office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It is obligatory on the part of the Special Officer to report to the President, the working of these safeguards, at such intervals as the President may direct. The President shall call all such reports to be laid before each House of Parliament.

Programmes for the Economic Development of Scheduled Castes.

Not much could be achieved by the mere provision of constitutional safeguards as the root cause of the malice was economic backwardness and poverty of the Scheduled Castes, which needed to be tackled by Government on a war footing. Therefore, starting from the first plan, due emphasis was laid on the Scheduled Castes getting a share from the General Sectors of development.

Other benefits earmarked for the Scheduled Castes are under Land, Agriculture and Housing programmes. While distributing land declared surplus due to imposition of land ceilings, preference is to be given by State Governments to persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

In many States special housing programmes for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been taken up together with making reservation for these groups in the allotment of houses in the general housing schemes.

The Scheduled Castes are also to be benefitted under general sector schemes like Small Farmers Development Agency, Drought Prone Area Development Programme, Integrated Rural Development Programme, Antodaya, Trysem, Concessional Credit under Differential Interest Rate Scheme, Farmers Training and Education Programme, Rural Credit and Marketing Programme, and Minimum Needs Programme.

It has been ensured that all blocks having 30% or more of Scheduled Caste population are covered under the I.R.D. scheme. It has also been recommended that the benefits in the I.R.D. programme should be earmarked to the extent of the proportion of the Scheduled Castes amongst the target groups in each case and till such figures are made available, it was to be 50% of the total benefit.

Within the broad framework of the schemes thus outlined, the State Governments have formulated different schemes for the general upliftment of these depressed classes.

Special Component Plans for Scheduled Castes

The philosophy behind this programme is the identification of schemes in different sectors, which could directly benefit the Scheduled Castes and quantification in financial and physical terms the targets from each of the schemes under general sectors, to form Special Component Plans for the Scheduled Castes. The main purpose was to secure, by this mechanism, adequate flow of funds from different sectors for the development of a significant

proportion of the Scheduled Castes, especially for their economic development, through programmes which would cater to the various occupational categories of the Scheduled Castes like agricultural labourers, leather workers and other artisans, marginal and small farmers and urban decentralised labourers so as to help them cross the poverty line. According to the report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes (1978-79) the States of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal have prepared special component plans for the Scheduled Castes. The remaining states have also been asked to prepare special component plans for Scheduled Castes at an early date.

Schemes in operation in Uttar Pradesh

The Government of Uttar Pradesh too, has given due importance to the upliftment of the Scheduled Castes. However, upto 1979-80, a greater emphasis, and rightly so, was placed on the programmes of educational development of the Scheduled Castes and other weaker sections. So far as programmes of economic development of Scheduled Castes was concerned, they were mostly taken up along with general development schemes of various departments. As this approach could not solve the problem of poverty among the Scheduled Castes, the concept of Special Component Plan for Harijan Welfare took shape.

Financial assistance to Scheduled Caste beneficiaries with the collaboration of commercial banks through the U.P. Scheduled Castes Finance and Development Corporation is a vital part of the Special Component Plan.

A target has been fixed to benefit 30,000 Scheduled Caste families during the year 1980-81 and a total number of about 2 lac families by the end of the 6th Plan period. This will be in addition to the families being benefitted under special component plan in sectoral programmes of the various departments of U.P. Govt. The programme for providing margin money loan and subsidy has also been linked with the special programmes like IRD in order to cover a large number of families. For availing the facilities provided by the Corporation, the cost of the scheme should not exceed Rs.20,000 and the expenditure on non-recurring items should not be more than 6,000. The Scheduled caste families whose annual incomes are not more than Rs.3,500 in rural areas and Rs.4,300 in urban areas will be eligible for getting assistance under margin money loan and subsidy. The Corporation's district office headed by a District Manager has been set up in all the districts for the successful implementation of the programme.

Scheme for Providing Margin Money Loans and Subsidy to Scheduled Castes For Bankable Projects/Schemes.

The basic purpose of this scheme is to attract scheduled caste families to undertake bankable schemes for their economic development. Each individual is required to be financed by a bank. The main aim of this scheme is to help achieve the national objective of pulling up atleast 50% of Scheduled Caste families from the poverty line by the end of the Sixth Plan.

The scheme known as "Margin Money Loan and subsidy on Bankable Scheme" is intended to facilitate scheduled caste persons in undertaking various economic activities in respect of small scale and cottage industries including dairy, animal husbandry, piggery, goat rearing, transport, agricultural development, land development, small business as well as all schemes approved by the ARDC, besides the schemes covered under IRD, SFDA, DPAP Programmes. The unique feature of this scheme is the linking of Government subsidy with it, in order to encourage the scheduled castes to undertake bankable schemes. The experience had been that the schemes under IRD/SFDA programmes were not able to attract adequate institutional finance from banks etc, for the scheduled caste persons, for want of margin money. It was mainly to overcome this difficulty, it was decided that in the IRD/SFDA/DPAP schemes, the Corporation will also provide margin money loan at 4% to scheduled caste families in addition to subsidies available under these schemes. This arrangement could attract the banks and scheduled castes to take benefit of these schemes.

The area of operation of the scheme would be the whole of Uttar Pradesh. However, to start with, implementation is to be concentrated in areas densely populated by scheduled castes.

Together with agriculture, schemes of new agricultural land allottees and professional schemes of medical, law and engineering graduates, the following schemes are covered under the programme.

1. All schemes approved by the ARDC.
2. All schemes covered under IRD/SFDA/DPAP programmes
3. Boiler Unit.
4. Dairy scheme for landless labourers, marginal farmers (for a she buffalo).
5. Dairy scheme for small farmers (two buffaloes/cross bred cows).
6. Back-yard poultry keeping
7. Poultry scheme (100 birds)
8. Piggery scheme (3 sows).
9. Goat rearing scheme (4 does)
10. Scheme for shoemakers.
11. Scheme for weavers (including carpet weavers).
12. Laundry scheme.
13. Cottage and small scale industries.
14. Scheme for Rickshaw pullers.
15. Dunlop Cart scheme.
16. Bullock cart scheme.
17. Horse driven kharkhara scheme.
18. Mules scheme in hills (two) etc.

All scheduled caste persons of the State, living below the poverty line i.e. whose annual incomes are not more than Rs.3,500 in rural areas and Rs.4,300 in urban areas, are eligible under the scheme. With regard to the educated unemployed, the family income ceiling for eligibility would be Rs.6,000 per annum only for the Corporation schemes (not to be covered under IRD pattern).

The Uttar Pradesh Government had taken a decision to start the implementation of the Special Component Programme from 2nd Oct. 1981. To start with, three villages in each block of the district are to be taken up. These three villages would be first surveyed for the purpose of integrated development. The household survey was started in Malihabad block in May 1980⁵.

A brief review of the progress of schemes for Scheduled Castes in district Agra.

Table 1.01 (Appendix-I) shows the progress of the schemes under Scheduled Caste and social welfare department for the years 1978-79, 79-80, 80-81. The table gives the scholarship figures which were released and disbursed among the pre and post high school students and other types of scholarships and subsidies given to the Scheduled Castes students in district Agra. The table indicates a steady increase in the amount released and spent during the years 1978-79 to 1980-81. Wherein the total amount released during the period between 1978-79, and 79-80, was 60,43,097 and 67,86,322 respectively, it increased to 79,37,938 rupees during 1980-81. Also, the entire amount released by Government was spent. New scholarships for the scheduled castes and other backward classes were introduced in 1980-81.

The information regarding subsidy given to Scheduled Caste beneficiaries by integrated rural development agency of Agra is given in table 1.02 (Appendix-II). The table shows a phenomenal

5. Special Component Plan.

rise in the number of beneficiaries and in the amount given to them during the years 1978-79 to 1980 - 81. While in 1978-79 the number of beneficiaries were only 168 and the amount spent was only Rs.97,450 figures rose to 15,81 beneficiaries and 29,72,314 rupees during the year 1980-81.

Besides the aforementioned programmes, other main schemes include provision of drinking water and house sites etc. Under the drinking water scheme, an allround progress is seen as per table 1.03 (Appendix - III). The total grants for the construction of wells have increased from Rs.370,390 in the year 1971-72 to Rs.581,000 in the year 1979-80. Against a target of constructing 674 wells for providing drinking water facility, 561 have already been completed over the years 71-72 to 80-81.

The next important programme for the welfare of Scheduled Castes in district Agra is the construction of houses for the Scheduled Castes and other weaker sections. As table 1.04 (Appendix-IV) shows, a target of 804 houses for construction was kept for the years 79-80 to 80-81. As against this 670 houses were constructed during these years. A sum of Rs. 1,220,724 was spent during the period. However, the total amount released for the construction of houses during the above mentioned period was Rs. 1,823,140.

Thus, though the programmes received ample attention of the authorities, it still remains to be seen whether the quantum of assistance rendered during the period was incommensurate with the bulk of the requirements in district Agra. In this respect table 1. 05 (Appendix - V) shows that only 1239 families were given assistance under the special component plan of district Agra.

Need for Evaluation

Despite these measures there is a general impression that the condition of the Scheduled Castes, especially those living in rural areas where the bulk of them reside, has either not improved at all or improved only marginally. As huge financial investments have been made and crores of rupees are being spent on the upliftment of the Scheduled Castes, it is imperative to have a feed back on the impact of various schemes on the socio-economic conditions of the Scheduled Castes. The annual report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes gives an overall national picture but not in sufficient detail. This is to be expected as the Commissioner's office faces the handicap of a very limited staff, which leaves the organization completely dependent on outside agencies for information. Inadequate information especially on the status of those in rural areas, is a basic drawback in analysing certain issues at a micro level. It is important to ascertain the extent to which the Scheduled Castes in rural areas, have benefitted from the Government programmes, whether they have reached the really needy and the manner in which these programmes have been administered, by the concerned Governmental agencies. It is equally important to ascertain the views of the Scheduled Castes on the working and effectiveness of these programmes. Hence, the focus of this study is on these issues. An attempt has been made to gather additional information on the status of the Scheduled Castes in rural areas. This has been done by probing into the socio-economic condition, of selected sample households, to study the impact of government policy on these households.

Chapter II

OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The prime objective of this study is to evaluate the impact of policies and programmes adopted by the Government for the upliftment of Scheduled Castes in rural areas. Hence, an attempt has been made to make an indepth study of the impact of Government programmes on the socio-economic condition of Scheduled Castes in rural areas. To be more specific, the study deals with the following aspects -

- Impact of the facilities and privileges extended to the Scheduled Castes on the economic front such as size and quality of land allotted to them, subsidy for agricultural inputs, and benefits from rural credit schemes.
- Benefits derived by the Scheduled Castes from the general sector schemes launched by the Government to help the poorest among the poor, viz, Small Farmers Development Agency, Drought Prone Area Development Programme, Integrated Rural Development Programme, Antodaya, Trysem, Concessional Credit under Differential Interest Rate Scheme, Farmers Training and Education Programme, Rural Credit and Marketing Programme and Minimum Needs Programme.
- Promotional efforts made towards development of cottage and small scale industries as a source of providing supplementary or alternative means of employment for the Scheduled Castes, together with other employment opportunities open to them.

Training needs of the area and nature of training facilities available.

Extent to which the Government has been able to solve their housing problem, by providing house sites, constructing houses and giving subsidy for construction.

State of educational facilities for the rural Scheduled Caste population, so as to assess the educational status of the families and their awareness of scholarship facilities open to them, the importance and place of education, the number of beneficiaries receiving pre-matric and post-matric fellowships, the importance of girls' education, the type of education more suitable for them, whether formal or informal or vocational and also, the impact of adult education programmes.

Social status of the Scheduled Castes including social attitudes.

Awareness among the Scheduled Castes about the various privileges and constitutional protection accorded to them, and their views about the usefulness and impact of these programmes.

Methodology

In view of the known difficulties in getting data on past years, the study was confined to assessing the impact of the policy measures taken up in recent years. Since, corrective and developmental measures towards the upliftment of the weaker

sections, of which the scheduled castes constitute a substantial category, have been taken up by the government on a larger scale during the 70's, it was decided to limit this study to this period i.e. from 1970 to 1980.

Locale of the study

The decision to take up the study in Uttar Pradesh was based on the fact that apart from being the most populous state in the country, Uttar Pradesh also has the largest number of Scheduled Caste population living within its jurisdiction. The selection of the district was based on the following criteria:

First, the size of the Scheduled Caste population in the district; and secondly, the ratio of the rural/urban population in the district. Also financial resources available to the researcher limited the distance of the place of study.

Keeping in view the above factors, the choice fell on Agra district of Uttar Pradesh, where out of the total population of 23,08,638 the Scheduled Caste population stood at 4,79,318, its rural population being 314,351 and urban 164,967. The Scheduled Caste population in Agra district was 20.8% of the total population whereas the percentage between the Rural/Urban Scheduled Caste population worked out at 65.58 and 34.42 respectively.⁶

Though the urban Scheduled Caste population of Agra district is slightly higher when compared to some other districts of Uttar

6. Government of India, Census Report, 1971.

Pradesh, nevertheless the choice fell on this district as it was important to assess the impact of urban contact on the Scheduled Caste population by making a comparative study between an urbanised, predominantly scheduled caste village with another village with an equally large Scheduled Caste population, but having little urban contact. Keeping this in view, two villages were selected, one near an urban centre, that was Dhanoli, which is only about 8 km from Agra, and the other was Semra, which is located in the interior, on the Mathura border, 21 km from Agra. Dhanoli is located in Agra Tahsil, its block headquarters being Akola, while Semra is located in Etmadpur Tahsil with Block headquarters at Khandoli. Dhanoli is nearer to Agra as compared to Akola, (its block headquarters). It is the other way round, in the case of Semra where the block headquarter is nearer to Agra, than is Semra. In Dhanoli, out of a total population of 5,319 the Scheduled Castes account for 2,478 (46.59%) whereas in Semra their number was 2,622 (29.49%) out of the total population of 8,892⁷. The total area of Dhanoli is 1,751 acres whereas Semra has a much bigger area of 4,741 acres. The total number of occupied residential houses stands at 827 and 1,558, the number of households being 863 and 1,562 in Dhanoli and Semra respectively.

While the villages had postal, educational and other facilities, certain basic infrastructural facilities like electricity, water supply, banking and medical facilities were lacking in both the villages. Urban contact has had a tremendous

7. Ibid.

impact on the development of Dhanoli. This impact is clearly visible in various activities. Dhanoli is also fortunate in having a net work of good roads and is well connected with Agra. There are other modes of transport available too. Bus service is excellent and the village has a good quota of rickshaws, cycles and tractors. Semra, on the other hand is inaccessible, as firstly, the roads are in a very bad shape, secondly, bus service is very poor, and lastly, there are no other means of transport available, except the horse drawn cart.

More emphasis has been laid on primary data than on purely secondly data because of the following reasons. Though on paper, secondary data may appear impressive, it does not give a realistic picture of the total situation which only the primary data can provide, in terms of utility and impact of the various measures on the socio-economic condition of the Scheduled Caste house hold. The above mentioned parameter was adopted to assess the impact of various schemes on the sample population consisting of 160 households.

Thus, the unit of study for the present purpose is the Scheduled Caste household. Head of the households were taken as respondents. A household, for the purpose of the study, is defined as a group of persons living together as a family under the same roof, usually eating from the same kitchen and cultivating land together in the case of households with land. The reasons behind selecting head of households as respondents was that as head of the family they would be in a better position to

Speak for the entire family. Also, land and other property is usually held in the name of the head. Except in the case of one woman head of household, who was a widow, the other heads of households were males.

Selection of Households

The next important stage was the selection of Households for administering the schedule. A list of scheduled caste households, prepared during the first field visit, with the help of the village level worker, facilitated the selection of households. While preparing the list of households, details about their sub-caste, occupation pursued, the type and quantum of benefit derived through Governmental schemes, were also noted. The method of multistage sampling was adopted. A 100% survey of all the Scheduled Caste households in the village, though desirable, was not possible because of various constraints, like time and resources available. Hence, from each village 80 households were chosen at random, from the list prepared. Thus, the sample size was fixed at 160 respondents. Regarding the caste-wise composition of sample, the Jatav sub-caste group constitute 84.40% of the sample on the basis of the strength of their population in both Dhanoli and Semra. However, other sub-caste groups like Khatik, Balmik, Dhobi, Kori, Bandha and Kumhar are also represented in the sample. It may also be mentioned that people belonging to the Jatav sub-caste group are mainly shoe makers in Dhanoli while in Semra, most of them follow the agricultural profession. Accordingly, the sample

reflects this feature wherein 45.62% respondents are engaged in Agriculture and 35% are working as artisans in the shoe-making industry. The other occupations like wage labour, government service, washerman, sweepers, rickshaw pullers, shop keepers etc. are also represented in the sample.

Tools of Data Collection.

The methods of survey research have been adopted for the present study.

Data was collected through both primary as well as secondary sources. Interviews and discussions apart, the study of documents and official reports formed part of the methodological aspect of the study. The secondary data has been mainly taken from the Census Reports, Governmental reports and other public documents. The other technique employed was observation while meeting different people in the village. Much information was elicited through informal conversations and discussions with the people of the Scheduled Castes, as well as with people belonging to other castes, in order to get to the root of the problem. The nature and degree of change has been assessed with the help of socio-economic indicators consisting of one or more variables.

The Interview Schedule. The interview schedules were designed keeping in view the broad objectives of the study, viz., an attempt to assess the all round impact of Government policy on the socio-economic conditions of scheduled castes in rural areas.

The interview schedule could not be shortened as the study attempted to take stock of the total situation, and had to be very comprehensive. As only a comparative study, distributed over time and space could be an effective indicator for measuring the improvement in the living conditions of the Scheduled Castes, the questions were structured accordingly. The position of the respondents in 1980/81 was compared to that which prevailed in 1970-71.

After a thorough review of the available literature on the subject, a tentative interview schedule was prepared and pretested in Semra by administering it to a small group of 5 respondents. On the basis of the experience thus gained, necessary alterations had to be affected while finalizing the schedule.

Originally it was planned to have a separate interview schedule for the officials, but after pretesting it was felt that instead of administering the interview schedule, indepth interviews with the officials would be more effective in eliciting information. Hence, this method replaced the structured interview schedule for officials.

Field Work Procedures.

The first and foremost task of a research team is to establish rapport with the population of the area in general and with the respondents in particular. This is possible only when there are no inhibitions on the part of the research team. The team was successful in building up a good rapport with the villagers by mixing freely with them and by partaking meals with them, so as to remove apprehensions, if any, from their minds.

Initially the respondents were hesitant in revealing any information. Most of them were not even prepared to be interviewed, because they believed that the investigators were to collect data about their economic condition so that even the marginal benefits they were getting would be deprived to them. They also apprehended trouble from the caste Hindus, in case they spoke out openly. Some of them, specially the younger ones adopted a hostile attitude. They said, they had no faith in researches and surveys as nothing comes out of them and the position of the Scheduled Castes remains unchanged.

However, once the bonafides and intentions of the research team were established, the respondents came out of their shells and freely expressed their views. They were open in their criticism against government officials. Some wanted help in filling forms for registering with the employment exchanges, for applying for loans from the government and some wanted help in bringing to book those guilty of practicing untouchability.

The interview was made as cordial as possible and the respondents were interviewed wherever they were available, either in their homes, in their fields or at their place of work. Each interview was spread over one to one and a half hours, but in some cases it took a longer time.

In 7 cases (4 in Semra, 3 in Dhanoli) the respondents had to be changed from the one selected in sample as the heads of household were not available in the household during the period of investigation. These were replaced by next nearest scheduled

caste household in the same village, to keep the sample size fixed at 160.

The interviews were conducted with the help of two field investigators, both of whom were final year students of the MSW course from Agra University, and belonged to the Scheduled Castes. Coming from rural background, they were very familiar with the area and had no problem what so ever in communicating with the respondents. Also, their knowledge of research techniques, was a great asset. Initially a student from the higher caste was selected but after a single day's fieldwork, he refused to continue with the work, on the ground that he had to go without food and water the whole day, as he would not take anything in the harijan basti. Taking field investigators from Delhi was purposely avoided as it was thought more desirable to have some one who would feel at home in those surroundings.

Analysis and Presentation of Data

The reliability of the data was checked through various means. The information supplied by the respondents regarding land holding was verified by cross checking with the official data maintained in village records. As there is a general tendency not to reveal the exact income, the family income from all sources as stated by them, was calculated on the basis of the market value of commodities, of agricultural products and rate of daily wages, in 1970/71 and in 1980/81.

The tabulation of the data was done manually, and presented by tables using simple percentage.

Chapter III

AREA PROFILE

Agra-Historical Background

According to an ancient legend the name Agra is derived from Agra Vana, one of twelve groves of Brajamandala where Krishna is said to have sported with his companions in his childhood. A later tradition attributes the name to agar, meaning salt-pan in Hindi, implying that the nature of the soil was brackish, indicating that at some time, salt might have been produced in these parts. Many interesting stories are woven around its origin.

The present city of Agra dates from the time of the Lodi Sultans although a town and a fort are known to have existed here since before the advent of the Muslims. Tradition associates it even with Ugrasen and his son, Kansa (the maternal uncle of Krishna). Down the ages Agra continued to enjoy a pre-eminent place, as a seat of power of great kingdoms, making and unmaking history.

Location

The district of Agra lies between $26^{\circ}44'$ and $27^{\circ}24'$ N.Lat. and $77^{\circ}28'$ and $78^{\circ}54'$ E. long. To the west of the district lies Rajasthan which with Madhya Pradesh also forms the southern boundary. On the north the district is bounded by the districts of Mathura and Etah and on the east by those of Mainpuri and Etawah. The maximum length of the district from west-north-west to east-south-east is 78 miles and from north-east to south-west 75 miles, the average breadth from North to South being about 76 miles.

In 1956-57 the area of the district was 11,91,040 acres (or 1,861 square miles) and in 1961 it was 1903.8 square miles. According to the Surveyor General, India, the area of the district in 1971 was 4,816.0 sq.km.

Agra is well connected by road and air to the important cities of the country. Its metalled roads radiate in all directions leading to the surrounding regional centres such as Hithras, and Aligarh on the north, Firozabad and Mainpur on the east, Dholpur and Gwalior on the south, Bharatpur on the west and Mathura on the north-west. Several railway lines also converge at Agra. It is situated at the confluence of three different states, viz. Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh which accounts for the historical importance of the city.

The district may be divided into four physical divisions which are formed by its major rivers, the Yamuna, the Chambal and the Utangan. The most prominent physical feature of the district is the river Yamuna with its tributaries, the Chambal and the Utangan, which in their turn have many other minor streams as their tributaries.

Mineral Deposits.

Kankar, brick and pottery clays are the useful materials which are commonly obtainable from the tract occupied by the alluvium while building stone is quarried extensively from the Vindhyan sandstone formations, in the district.

Climate

The district has, on the whole, a dry climate except during the monsoon months. The summer is hot and the total annual rainfall is comparatively less than in the neighbouring districts to the east.

Housing

The city of Agra has developed in a haphazard manner. It presents a combination of the old and the new. It is a conglomeration of a number of localities which came into existence at different times but which became one by the process of expansion. Nor does the city lie on a single extended plane, many eminences, ravines and undulations being special features of its topography. The old quarters of the Mughal city in the vicinity of Akbar's fort, have retained their importance through the ages but they are mainly inhabited by old world business men and by the descendants of the employees of the Mughal darbar. The buildings in this area are of the olden type, do not follow any set architectural pattern and are made of stone or brick, being two to four storeys high.

The pattern of houses in the villages has not changed much and they are generally built of mud or unbaked bricks. With regard to rural housing, the district of Agra may be divided into two parts - the trans - Yamuna section and the doab. In the former, the houses are generally built of stone which is locally available and is known as Khanda. Stone slabs are used for roofing as well as for flooring. In the latter, the houses

of well-to-do persons are made of pakka bricks and Cement but clay house with thatched roofs are also found in the area of the chambal ravines

A discription of Agra district would be incomplete unless mention is made about the Taj Mahal. Having a unique beauty of its own, this masoleum of Mumtaz Mahal, the empress of Shah Jahan was built by Shah Jahan to enshrine her mortal remains. Its chief beauty lies in the magnificent grandeur and purity of its external architectural effects. The marble, of Makrana is of such a nature that it takes on different shades and colour, with the change in the atmosphere.

The Taj, together with other historical monuments like the Agra fort etc., earns a good revenue from the tourist influx as people from far and near come to see, one of the seven wonders of the world. It also provides employment to a large number of people connected with the tourism and handicrafts industry.

Infact, every ancient building in Agra speaks of history and the glory that once was.

Population

As regards population the district occupies 11th place in the state. During the decade 1961-1971 population of the district has gone up by 23.98 percent. There are seven tahsils in the district namely Kiroli, Kheragarh, Agra, Etmadpur, Firozabad, Fatehabad and Bah. Areawise, Bah is the biggest tahsil in the district, whereas tahsil Agra is the most densely populated

tahsil of the district. Tahsilwise area, their density and population, as also the population of Scheduled Castes is indicated in the table given below:

Table 3.01

<u>Name of Tahsil</u>	<u>Area in sq.kms.</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Sch. Caste population.</u>	<u>Density</u>
1. Kiroli	711.5	224,547	44,705	316
2. Kheragarh	813.3	204,436	41,142	251
3. Agra	535.9	832,312	188,739	1,553
4. Etmadpur	730.4	298,755	69,372	409
5. Firozabad	528.1	342,092	59,811	648
6. Fatehabad	637.4	196,841	36,563	309
7. Bah	924.6	209,655	38,986	227

Source : Census of India 1971.

The Scheduled Castes constitute 20.76 percent of the total population of the District. Among the tahsils, Agra and Etmadpur, had the largest number of Scheduled Caste population. The two sample villages, Dhanoli and Semra, are located in Agra and Etmadpur respectively.

The sex ratio i.e. the number of females per thousand males shows a downward trend between 1961 and 1971. From 909, it has gone down to 879 and from 840 to 829 in Uttar Pradesh and Agra District respectively.

There are 1,232 villages spread over an area of 4,704.6 sq. km. in the district. Out of these 1,182 villages are inhabited.

The total urban area in the district is 111.4 sq.km.

Workers

According to 1971 census figures, the working population of the district was 325,587 constituting 23.99 per cent of the total population. The percentage of workers in tahsils Kiron, Kheragarh, Agra, Etmadpur, Firozabad, Fatehabad and Bah worked out to be 26.68, 28.90, 26.16, 26.35, 27.51, 29.27 and 27.62 respectively.

A comparative study of the figures relating to the working population of the state and district between 1961 and 1971 shows that the percentage of workers to total population (main activity only) had gone down from 39.1 to 30.9 and from 30.6 to 27.1 in the state and district respectively. The

percentage of cultivators also showed a downward trend from 63.9 to 57.4 and from 44.5 to 41.7 in Uttar Pradesh and Agra district respectively whereas the percentage of agricultural labourers has gone up from 11.3 to 20.0 in the case of Uttar Pradesh as a whole and from 5.0 to 10.4 in district Agra. It can be implied that a sizable number of cultivators had become agricultural labourers, over the years inspite of land ceiling and land distribution.

The percentage of female workers, which, in 1961, was as low as 18.1 in the state as a whole and 2.8 in District Agra, had by 1971, further declined to 6.7 and to 1.4 in the state and district Agra respectively.

Literacy.

The growth of literacy had registered a marginal improvement between 1961 and 1971. It has gone up from 17.7 to 21.7 and from 24.0 to 28.0 in Uttar Pradesh and Agra district respectively. The rate of literacy in the tahsils of Kiroli, Kheragarh, Agra, Etamadpur, Firozabad, Fatehabad and Bah was 22.63, 19.81, 36.90, 24.25, 28.38, 16.48, and 22.58 percent respectively. The above mentioned figures show that the rate of literacy was much higher in Agra Tahsil as compared to the other tahsils. This is understandable as there were more educational facilities in Agra Tahsil when compared to the other Tahsils.

Table C.02 (appendix-VI), gives the Scheduled Caste figures relating to population, the rate of literacy, and the classification of workers (both urban and rural). Based on 1971 Census figures, the table presents a comparative picture of the Scheduled Castes, living at the National, State and District levels. Out of a total Scheduled Caste population of 80,005,398, their rural population accounted for 70,449,154 and urban 9,556,244. Thus, an overwhelming majority of Scheduled Caste population lived in rural areas. The total Scheduled Caste population of the State of Uttar Pradesh stood at 18,548,916 their rural population being 17,147,032 and urban 1,401,884. Here again, only a fraction of the Scheduled Caste population lived in Urban areas. The figures relating to district Agra presented a similar trend where out of a total Scheduled Caste population of 479,313 the rural population was 314,351 whereas the urban population was only 164,967.

The overall literacy figure of the Scheduled Caste population for the whole of India, was 9,244,530 male and 2,490,377 female literates. The picture in Rural areas was even more dismal where there were only 7,268,061 male and 1,729,360 female literates, as against 28,997,654 male and 32,454,079 female illiterates. In Uttar Pradesh again the number of illiterates in rural areas was as high as 7,591,897 male and 7,992,393 female illiterates, as compared to 1,421,524 male and 141,218 female literates. The figures for the district

of Agra as a whole show 64,165 male and 12,045 female literates as against 196,849 male and 206,259 female illiterates.

Another trend that the national census reveals relates to the work force. According to the all India figures of the Scheduled Castes working force there were a total number of 22,348,971 male and only 6,722,388 female workers. Again in Uttar Pradesh, the same trend followed where there were only 1,039,708 female workers as compared to 5,223,601 male workers. In the case of district Agra the situation was even worse where against 122,533 male workers there were only 3,423 female workers.

The occupational figures reveal that majority of the Scheduled Castes were either cultivators or agricultural labourers. A sizable number of the Scheduled Caste population was also engaged in manufacturing, processing, servicing and repairs.

Chapter IV

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE VILLAGES

This chapter gives a general description of the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the two villages selected for the present study and its impact on the Scheduled Caste population.

The study aims to make an assessment of the impact of Government policy and programmes on two different villages, one, a fringe village and the other situated in the interior, little affected by urban contact. Dhanoli, 8 km away from Agra and with a very high percentage of Scheduled Caste population, (46.5%) and Semra on the Mathura border, 21 km from Agra, with a high Scheduled Caste population (29.49%), were selected keeping the above mentioned objective in view. Incidentally, Agra was the nearest town from both the sample villages, though the distance between Agra and Dhanoli on the one hand and Semra on the other, was not the same.

Population.

As per 1971 census the total population of Dhanoli, including the Scheduled Castes population, stood at 5,319. The total population of Semra, which again included the Scheduled Castes was much higher at 8,892. The number of households in Dhanoli and Semra were 863 and 1,562 respectively. The number of Scheduled Caste households in Dhanoli and Semra were 510 and 573 respectively. The nuclear family concept seems to have wider acceptance in Semra.

The State of Transport and Communication

Dhanoli in Akola block and Semra in Khandoli block, present a sharp contrast in more than one respect. Where Dhanoli gives an appearance of a modern village, Semra has been little touched by modernity.

There are many factors, which are responsible for this differential impact. Firstly, the distance between the villages and the urban area; Secondly, the transport and communication facilities available to the two villages, were not the same. Dhanoli being well connected, had a regular bus service. Besides, other modes of transportation such as autos, tractors, rickshaws and cycles were also available. The main roads were in good condition. Semra, on the other hand, did not have a regular bus service and was linked by kuchha roads. The horse - drawn cart was the only other mode of transportation available. All these factors make the village even more inaccessible. A good communication network, essential for the development of a village, is badly lacking in Semra.

Economic Background

As a result of Dhanoli's urban contact, the gap in the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the two villages is widening. First, there was a marked difference in the land and property rates. The worth of the same type of property was much higher in Dhanoli than in Semra, because of the location. In Dhanoli, the land rates had sky-rocketed,

especially after the Air Force acquired a good amount of land from the village, leaving very little agricultural land with the village. The total area of village Dhanoli was only about 1/4th of that of Semra. Again the total agricultural land in Dhanoli was about a thousand acres out of which about 988 acres was cultivatable. In Semra, on the other hand, the total agricultural land was about 4,000 acres, out of which 3,941 acres was cultivatable. In Dhanoli, the net area under irrigation was 776 acres, whereas 212 acres remained unirrigated. Tube Wells were the only mode of irrigation. However, in Semra, the net area under irrigation was 2,136 acres while 2,077 acres were devoid of any irrigation facility. There were mainly three sources of irrigation - the tube wells, ordinary wells and water from canal. All these factors have brought about a change in the life style and thinking of the people. In Dhanoli, not much importance was attached to land. The Scheduled Castes were trying to commercialise shoe-making. They were keen to seek Governmental assistance for setting up cottage industries in leather goods and for selling finished products. Also here, the people were more open to new ideas and innovations, again because of the urban contact.

Not much had changed in the sleepy Semra village where time seemed to have stood still. The villager here attached a great importance to agricultural land. He was more interested in seeking Government help by way of land distribution and provision of credit facilities for buying agricultural inputs and implements.

Dhanoli is no more in the "cart age". Tractors and other types of vehicles have replaced the cart. Tractors have to a large extent, replaced the plough. Farmers not owning tractors could always get them on hire. Tractor owners were doing a brisk business, and so were owners of the tubewells, who sell water to other farmers. There were altogether 9 tractors and 167 tube wells in the village. However, none of the Scheduled Caste families owned tractors. A majority of them own only a bare minimum of agricultural implements.

A large number of Scheduled Caste families in Dhanoli owned cycles. Some families owned more than one. A considerable number of Scheduled Caste families in Semra, too, owned bicycles.

In Semra, though, the tractor and tubewells have appeared on the scene, yet the traditional pattern is still maintained. Here, again none of the Scheduled Caste families owned tractors. Rows and rows of camels carrying potatoes and other goods, are a very familiar sight. Camels come here from neighbouring Rajasthan too. Semra trades mainly in cash crops like potatoes, which have started flooding the market as farmers had gone in for this crop, in a big way. It is mainly an agricultural economy which sustains Semra with the cottage industry playing only a subsidiary role. People were more keen on learning and adopting scientific methods of farming. Infact, little attention had been paid towards the development of cottage industries.

Electrification and water supply facilities were lacking in both the villages. Lack of electricity hampers the development of the rural economy - both agricultural and industrial.

Both the villages lacked in certain other basic facilities like the provision of a Police station and a Bank. However, there was a post office in Dhanoli as well as in Semra. Dhanoli could boast of a public telephone too, which however remained out of order, most of the time.

Housing

With regard to housing, Dhanoli again presented a better image. Here, the houses and shops, especially on the main road, were pukka. Deep in the interior, one got a mixed picture as there were a good number of kacha as well as pukka and newly built houses. These, however, were constructed recently, after a big fire destroyed a major part of the village. In the newly constructed area the Scheduled Castes' houses were found next to the other castes. There is a Harijan group-housing scheme in the village but the colony which has come up under this scheme is secluded from the other colonies. Fifteen Scheduled Caste families had benefitted from this scheme.

The pattern of housing had not changed much in Semra. They were generally built of mud or unbaked bricks, with thatched roofs. At the same time, there were a good number of newly built pukka houses. A palatial building stands in the heart of the village. It is said to have belonged to the local chieftain and served as the darbar and court of the chief. The fate of many was decided here. Though, the place has fallen

into disuse, the descendants of the chieftain having migrated to Agra, it speaks of the glory and splendour it once was. The Scheduled Castes lived in a separate basti which was segregated from the caste Hindu localities. There was no Government sponsored housing programme for Harijans, in this village yet. However, some families were given house sites.

Educational facilities.

Out of a total male population of 2,901 in Dhanoli only 1,077 were literate. In Semra the position was more dismal where out of a total male population of 4,940 only 1,360 were literate. The level of literacy among the female population in both the villages was far lower than that of the male population. From a total female population of 2,418 in Dhanoli, the number of literates was as low as 174. Again, in Semra, out of a total female population of 3,952 there were only 230 literates.

A common problem faced by both the villages is lack of proper schooling facilities. The impact of educational programmes on the Scheduled Caste population was dismal because the whole schooling system was in a very bad shape. Among the sample population of 80 families from each village, 31 families in Dhanoli and 33 families in Semra were sending their children to school, which means more than half of the sample families were not sending children to school. The only redeeming feature was the common schooling facility for Scheduled Castes with non-Scheduled Caste students. The buildings were not in proper condition, and where there was a proper building, the teaching staff appeared inefficient and unenthusiastic about their work. Naturally, there was a lack

of interest on the part of the students. The Government-run schools presented a deserted look. The only schools that were promoting education in the villages were privately-run schools. There was a private school in both Dhanoli and Semra. Though these schools faced the handicap of inadequate accommodation (most of the classes were held in the open) yet they drew the maximum number of students. Inadequate accommodation thus is not a major disincentive for the students. Among the Government schools in Dhanoli, the primary school had a total strength of 168 students, which included 50 girl students. It had a teaching staff of seven. Eighteen girls were on the rolls of the primary girls' schools with a teaching staff of two. Dhanoli had a junior high school too. However, the privately-run school had as many as 350 students registered with it, including 35 girls.

In Semra there were a total number of 4 Government run schools - primary school (one) girls school (two) and Junior high school (one) and one private school.

Conspicuous by their absence were the adult literacy centres in both the villages. However, even when the adult literacy centres were functioning, the scheduled castes could not derive any benefit out of it, because of the discrimination they faced.

Workers and non-Workers

The total work force, comprising both male and female workers in Dhanoli stood at 1,218. The percentage of female

workers was extremely low. In Semra the total work force amounted to 2,490. Here again, the percentage of female workers was very low. The number of cultivators in Dhanoli was 265 as against 1,349 in Semra. More workers in Dhanoli, than in Semra were employed in Manufacturing, Processing, Servicing and Repairs. The number of male non-workers was as high as 1,693 in Dhanoli and 2,508 in Semra. The number of female non-workers was much higher, in both Dhanoli (2,408), and Semra (3,894).

Training facilities

While Dhanoli, could claim of having a training centre under the 'TRYSEM' Scheme, in Semra there was no such facility. However, in Dhanoli, this centre which imparted training in weaving, wore a deserted look, inspite of a number of trainees on the rolls. Lack of interest, among the population, in the weaving industry may be one of the reasons for this. Atleast, the Scheduled Caste population in the area showed no interest in the weaving trade. On the other hand, a majority of them were employed in the shoe-making industry.

Social Status and intercaste relations

The scheduled castes in both the villages complained of social segregation and social boycott by the higher castes. They were forced to live away from the high caste localities and there was hardly any social interaction between them and the other castes. They had separate wells and temples. In Dhanoli, however, it was found that in some areas, especially, the ones that have come up after a major part of the village was destroyed

in a huge fire, the scheduled caste households were located next to the higher caste houses, without any dividing line between them.

There was general resentment, among the other castes, towards the scheduled castes. They felt that the Government was going out of its way to pamper them and that they did not deserve the privileges the Government was giving them. On the whole the relations were very strained. A scheduled caste villager lamented that it was a curse to be born in this country, where because of their birth, they were treated as inferior human beings and were untouchables in their own land. However, there were a few isolated cases like that of Chatrapal Singh, a rich shoe-maker, holding a powerful post, who moved with the high caste people with ease. He felt there was no practice of untouchability as such. The higher castes seem to adopt double standards when it comes to mixing with the Scheduled Castes. They mixed freely with the influential and wealthy from among the lower castes, but maintained a distance from the economically backward of the same community. The other castes had no inhibitions while mixing with each other. Only while mixing with the Scheduled Castes, the norms of caste directives were observed.

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Table 4.01.

Figures at a glance

	<u>DHANOLI</u>	<u>SEMRA</u>
Area of village in acres.	1,751	4,741
Occupied residen- tial houses.	827	1,558
Number of households	863	1,562
Total Population	5,319	8,892
Male	2,901	4,940
Female	2,418	3,952
Scheduled Castes Male	1,268	1,418
Scheduled Castes Female	1,210	1,204
Literate and Educated persons		1,360
:Males	1,077	
:Females	174	230

Total workers (1-Ix)	Cultivators	Agricultural Labourers	Livestock, forestry, fishing, Hunting & Plantations, Orchards and allied acti- vities.	Mining and quarry- ing
-------------------------	-------------	---------------------------	---	---------------------------------

----- I ----- II ----- III ----- IV -----

Dhanoli

Male 1,208	264	127	9	-
Female 10	1	2	-	-

Semra

Male 2,432	1,326	544	35	-
Female 58	23	19	1	-

Manufacturing, Processing
Servicing and Repairs.

Construction

Trade &
commerce

----- V ----- VI ----- VII -----

(a)

(b)

Household Industry.	Other than Household Industry.
------------------------	--------------------------------------

Dhanoli

Male 189	124	15	47
Female 1	1	-	-

Semra

Male 137	42	8	102
Female 4	-	-	-

Transport, storage
and communications

Other services

Non-workers

----- VIII ----- IX ----- X -----

Dhanoli

Male 31 402 1,693

Female - 5 2,408

Semra

Male 34 204 2,508

Female - 11 3,894

Source: Census of India 1971.

Chapter V

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS

In this chapter a detailed picture of the socio-economic characteristics of the sample households is presented. The focus will be on caste, occupation, literacy, income and asset changes that have ensured between 1970 and 1980. The unit of study is the Scheduled Caste household which has been defined as a family living under one roof, sharing the same kitchen and jointly cultivating land in the case of land-owning families.

Table 5.01

The caste wise distribution of
Respondents

Sub-Caste	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Jatav	69	86.25	66	82.50
Khatik	5	6.25	2	2.50
Dhobi	4	5.00	2	2.50
Balmik	1	1.25	6	7.50
Bandha	1	1.25		
Kori	-	-	3	3.75
Kumhar	-	-	1	1.25
Total	80	100.00	80	100.00

Table 5.01 shows, most of the respondents (86.25% in Dhanoli and 82.50% in Semra) belonged to the Jatav sub-caste group, followed by Khatik (6.25% in Dhanoli and 2.50% in Semra), and Balmik (1.25% in Dhanoli and 7.50% in Semra). Other castes such as Dhobi, Kori, Bandha and Kumhar were in very small numbers in the villages which is reflected in the sample. The Jatavs who accounted for nearly 90% of the total Scheduled Caste population in both the villages, were mostly shoe makers in Dhanoli, while in Semra they were largely agriculturists. These aspects of the respondents will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Occupational Pattern

The occupational pattern of the respondents as reflected in the sample, presents an interesting pattern. Artisans were the largest group (46.25%) in Dhanoli, the concentration here is on cottage industry, where, people either work as artisans in the shoe-making industry or own cottage industry. Only 23.75 per cent were engaged in agriculture. In Semra, on the other hand, the cultivators/small and marginal farmers constitute a majority (67.50%). Government service, wage labourers, washermen and sweepers are some of the other occupations pursued by the sample in both the villages. Five per cent of the respondents in Dhanoli were Rickshaw pullers. In Semra there were no rickshaw pullers,

presumably as rickshaws cannot operate due to bad roads. Mechanics, milk vendors and shop keepers accounted for only a small percentage in the sample. Thus, by and large, the majority of the respondents still follow their ancestral occupations.

Table 5.02

Occupation pursued by the respondents.

Type of occupation.	<u>Village</u>			
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Cultivators/ small and marginal farmers.	19	23.75	54	67.50
Artisan	37	46.25	19	23.75
Wage labour	9	11.35	1	1.25
Government Service.	5	6.25	2	2.50
Dhobi (Washerman)	-	-	2	2.50
Rickshaw puller	4	5.00	-	-
Sweeper	1	1.25	-	-
Others (milkman, mechanic, shopkeepers)	5	6.25	2	2.50
Total:	80	100.00	80	100.00

Family Composition

It is generally believed that in rural areas, the joint family is still predominant. The Scheduled Caste families, however, present a different picture in the two villages. Majority of the households live as nucleus families. But the comparatively well off Scheduled Caste families, though constituting only a fraction of the sample, were found to be following the joint family system. According to the size of total sample population in both Dhanoli and Semra, the average family size worked out to be approximately six. The Male/Female ratio was 4:1 in the case of Dhanoli and 3:1 in Semra.

Employment Status

A majority of families in both the villages, 41.25% in Dhanoli and 47.50% in Semra, had only one earning member. About 36.25% families in Dhanoli and 28.75% in Semra had upto two earning members. Only 2.50% of the families in Semra, had six earning members. This may be attributed to the nuclear family system and to the non-participation of female members in the work force. There were only 2 adult

members in a majority of the households. The following table shows the employment status of the families.

Table 5.03

Employment Status of the families

<u>Village</u>						
<u>1. Dhanoli</u>			<u>2. Semra</u>			
Total earning members per family	No. of families (frequency)	Percentage to total	Total family members employed	No. of families (frequency)	Percentage to total	Total family members employed.
One	33	41.25	33	38	47.50	38
Two	29	36.25	58	23	28.75	46
Three	9	11.25	27	12	15.00	36
Four	8	10.00	32	3	3.75	12
Five	1	1.25	5	2	2.50	10
Six	-	-	-	2	2.50	12
Total:	80	100.00	155	80	100.00	154

From a total sample population of 469 in Dhanoli (males 280, females 189), 92 males were employed full time in the shoe making industry or were running their own cottage industry, 40 were employed only for a part of the year, and 148 were mostly children and elderly persons, who could not join the work force. In Semra, out of a total sample population of 466 (males 267 and females 199), a total of 76 males had work for the whole year, 61 had employment for a part of the year and 130, mostly children and elderly persons were not

working. The participation of women in the work force of both the villages was very low.

Literacy

The table on literacy clearly shows that women's education has been neglected. Only about 10.50% women in Dhanoli and 11.50% in Semra were literate. Among the male population 50.40% in Dhanoli and 44.20% in Semra were literate. However, even among the literate sample, most of them had not studied beyond 2-3 standard.

Table 5.04

Distribution of Population by Sex and Literacy

Name of the village.	Male					Female				
	Literate		Illiterate		Total	Literate		Illiterate		Total
	No	%	No.	%		No.	%	No	%	
Dhanoli	141	50.40	139	49.60	280	20	10.50	169	89.50	189
Semra	118	44.20	149	55.80	267	23	11.50	176	88.40	199

Land owned

More than fifty per cent of the total sample had no land either in 1970 or in 1980. As shown in table 5.05, more than threefourths of the sample population in Dhanoli had no land in 1970-71, as also in 1980-81. In the case of Semra, the position regarding land holdings improved by 1980-81. In 1980-81, 30% of the sample did not have any land as compared to 58.75%, who were landless in 1970-71. A total number of 23 families in Semra and 2 families in Dhanoli joined the land holding class

by 1980, as a result of Government allotting land to them, under its land distribution programme. However, the land allotted by the Government was less than one bigha. The re-distribution has thus not improved the economic condition of the beneficiaries, as the land allotted was uneconomic in size and unproductive in nature. Among the other land holders, a majority of them were having less than 3 bighas of land and the situation regarding land holdings has almost remained unchanged, even after a decade. In Dhanoli, half the area of the village has been taken away for the construction of an Air Force Station, leaving little scope for the expansion of agriculture.

Table 5.05

Land Holdings (in Bighas)

Land Holding (in Bighas)	1. Dhanoli		<u>Village.</u>		2. Semra			
	1970-71		1980-81		1970-71		1980-81	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
No land	63	78.75	61	76.25	47	58.75	24	30.00
less than 1	6	7.50	8	10.00	5	6.25	22	25.00
1 to less than 3	8	10.00	8	10.00	10	12.50	10	12.50
3 to less than 6	2	2.50	2	2.50	7	8.75	7	8.75
6 to less than 9					4	5.00	4	5.00
9 to less than 12					3	3.75	3	3.75
12 and above.	1	1.25	1	1.25	4	5.00	4	5.00
T o t a l:	80	100.00	80	100.00	80	100.00	80	100.00

Total Cultivated Land

Land under cultivation, of a majority of land holders was less than three bighas. Among these land owning households, none had reported either leasing in or leasing out land. As indicated in table 5.06 major change regarding area under cultivation is the addition of more area under cultivation, when by 1980, **28.75%** families joined the land holding category in Semra. However, the beneficiaries had less than a bigha under cultivation, which was their total land holding. Again, 10% of the beneficiaries in Semra and 2.50% in Dhanoli, (constituting the total No. benefitted), were not cultivating the land because of its uneconomic nature. However, a small number of households had more than 12 bighas of cultivated land.

Table 5.06

Total cultivated land of the land holding respondents, (in Bighas).

Total Cultivated Land. (in Bighas)	Village								
	1. Dhanoli				2. Semra				
	1970-71		1980-81		1970-71		1980-81		
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	
No land	63	78.75	61	76.25	47	58.75	24	30.00	
Less than 1	6	7.50	8	10.00	5	6.25	18	22.50	
1 to less than 3	8	10.00	7	8.75	10	12.50	12	15.00	
3 to " "	6	2	2.50	1	1.25	7	8.75	7	8.75
6 to " "	9				4	5.00	4	5.00	
9 " " "	12				3	3.75	3	3.75	
12 and above	1	1.25	1	1.25	4	5.00	4	5.00	
uneconomic land	-		2	2.50			8	10.00	
Total:	80	100.00	80	100.00	80	100.00	80	100.00	

Land Yield

The total production, in 1971 and in 1981 of most land holders was less than 5 quintals. Green revolution had made little impact on the marginal farmers in the two villages. First, because of the small size of land holdings and secondly, due to the economic condition of the families. There were only a small number of farmers, producing more than 13 quintals and having land more than 12 bighas. About 12.50% of the persons in the sample were not cultivating land due to its uneconomic nature.

Cropping pattern

Most of the land holders, raised two crops in a year (Bajra and Wheat). One landholder in Semra was raising 5 crops (vegetables), both in 1970-71 and in 1980-81. However, the beneficiary respondents were either not raising any crops, or were raising only one crop. This under utilisation of land could be attributed to the following reasons:-

First, because of the quality of land allotted; Secondly, due to lack of irrigational facilities and lastly, on account of the poor economic condition of the beneficiaries.

From the tables on land holdings it becomes clear that little change has been effected over a period of ten years. The only significant feature is the addition of more landholders, specially in Semra. Produce wise, there has been only marginal improvement.

Physical Assets.

Table 5.07 presents the physical assets and agricultural implements owned by the respondents, at the two points in time.

Table 5.07

OWNERSHIP PATTERN OF PHYSICAL ASSETS

DHANOLI

Type of assets	1970-71					1980-81						
	1	2	3	4 and above	NA	Total	1	2	3	4 and above	NA	Total
Sickle	26 (32.50)	9 (11.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	43 (53.75)	80 (100.00)	16 (20.00)	17 (21.25)	4 (5.00)	2 (2.50)	41 (51.25)	80 (100.00)
Spade	16 (20.00)	5 (6.25)			59 (73.75)	80 (100.00)	19 (23.75)		4 (5.00)		57 (71.25)	80 (100.00)
Axe	16 (20.00)	2 (2.50)	1 (1.25)		61 (76.25)	80 (100.00)	13 (16.25)	8 (10.00)	2 (2.50)		57 (71.25)	80 (100.00)
Cutter	29 (36.25)	5 (6.25)	1 (1.25)	2 (2.50)	43 (53.75)	80 (100.00)	16 (20.00)	14 (17.50)	6 (7.50)	2 (2.50)	42 (52.50)	80 (100.00)
Cultivator					80 (100.00)	80 (100.00)	2 (2.50)				78 (97.50)	80 (100.00)
Hand Hoe	2 (2.50)	1 (1.25)			77 (96.25)	80 (100.00)	2 (2.50)	1 (1.25)			77 (96.25)	80 (100.00)
Plough	3 (3.75)				77 (96.25)	80 (100.00)	1 (1.25)	2 (2.50)			77 (96.25)	80 (100.00)
Tube well	3 (3.75)				77 (96.25)	80 (100.00)	3 (3.75)				77 (96.25)	80 (100.00)
Gobar Gas Plant.					80 (100.00)	80 (100.00)	1 (1.25)				79 (98.75)	80 (100.00)
Trasher	1 (1.25)				79 (98.75)	80 (100.00)	1 (1.25)				79 (98.75)	80 (100.00)

SEMRA

Type of assets	1970-71					1980-81						
	1	2	3	4 and above	NA	Total	1	2	3	4 and above	NA	Total
Sickle	28 (35.00)	9 (11.25)	3 (3.75)	2 (2.50)	38 (47.50)	80 (100.00)	16 (20.00)	13 (16.25)	10 (12.50)	11 (13.75)	30 (37.50)	80 (100.00)
Spade	6 (7.50)	2 (2.50)	3 (3.75)		69 (86.25)	80 (100.00)	12 (15.00)	2 (2.50)	4 (5.00)		62 (77.50)	80 (100.00)
Axe	23 (28.75)		1 (1.25)		56 (70.00)	80 (100.00)	14 (17.50)	8 (10.00)	4 (5.00)		54 (67.50)	80 (100.00)
Cutter	13 (16.25)	6 (7.50)	1 (1.25)	4 (5.00)	56 (70.00)	80 (100.00)	9 (11.25)	11 (13.75)	7 (8.75)	6 (7.50)	47 (58.75)	80 (100.00)
Cultivator	1 (1.25)				79 (98.75)	80 (100.00)					80 (100.00)	80 (100.00)
Hand Hoe	3 (3.75)				77 (96.25)	80 (100.00)	6 (7.50)	1 (1.25)			73 (91.25)	80 (100.00)
Plough	6 (7.50)	1 (1.25)			73 (91.25)	80 (100.00)	6 (7.50)	1 (1.25)			73 (91.25)	80 (100.00)
Tube Well	4 (5.00)				76 (95.00)	80 (100.00)					80 (100.00)	80 (100.00)
Gobar Gas Plant					80 (100.00)	80 (100.00)					80 (100.00)	80 (100.00)
Thrasher					80 (100.00)	80 (100.00)					80 (100.00)	80 (100.00)

Among the various agricultural implements, the sickle is owned by the largest number. A good number owned cutters. Most of the respondents had added in number to these basic implements. However, a very insignificant number owned hand hoe and plough. None from the 5% owning tube wells in Semra in 1970-71 had it in 1980-81. Only 1.25% owned a thrasher in Dhanoli both in 1970-71 and in 1980-81, and 1.25% had acquired a Gobar Gas plant by 1980-81. None of the families owned carts or any sophisticated machinery like tractors etc. Thus, an overwhelming majority owned only the bare minimum of basic conventional agricultural implements.

Animal Wealth

The population of buffaloes and cows was the largest, among the animal wealth of the respondents both in Dhanoli and in Semra. There is a marked increase in the population of buffaloes, and cows over the decade under study. Practically all these milch animals were of local breed and of poor quality. Consequently, the productivity of these milch animals was very low. An interesting development to be noted in Semra concerns the ownership of goats. While in 1970-71 none of the families owned goats, by 1980-81 about 23% of the families were having this animal. Among them, 8.75% owned more than five goats. However, the other animals were an insignificant number in 1971 and in 1981. Moreover, improved breed animals were negligible. (see table 5.08).

Table 5.08

Ownership pattern of Animal Wealth

DHANOLI		1970-71										1980-81									
Type of Animal	1	2	3	4	5 +	NA	Total	1	2	3	4	5 +	NA	Total							
	0	1	0	1	0	1		0	1	0	1	0	1								
Buffalo/7	2	1				70	80	26	3	1			50	80							
Cow	(8.75)	(2.50)	(1.25)			(91.25)	(100.00)	(32.50)	(3.75)	(1.25)			(62.50)	(100.00)							
Bullock/4	1					76	80	4					76	80							
He	(5.00)					(95.00)	(100.00)	(5.00)					(95.00)	(100.00)							
Buffalo																					
Goat	3	2				75	80	4	3		1		72	80							
	(3.75)	(2.50)				(93.75)	(100.00)	(5.00)	(3.75)		(1.25)		(90.00)	(100.00)							
Poultry	1					79	80	3		1			75	80							
	(1.25)					(98.75)	(100.00)	(3.75)		(1.25)			(93.75)	(100.00)							
Piggery						80	80	1					79	80							
						(100.00)	(100.00)	(1.25)					(98.75)	(100.00)							
Sheep						80	80						79	80							
						(100.00)	(100.00)						(98.75)	(100.00)							
Donkey	1					79	80						78	80							
	(1.25)					(98.75)	(100.00)			1			(79.50)	(100.00)							
										(1.25)											

continued Table 5.08

SEMRA Type of Animal	1970-71			NA	1980-81			NA	Total
	1	2	3		1	2	3		
	o	i	o	i	o	i	o	i	
Buffalo/ Cow.	9	2			69	28	2	50	80
	(11.25)	(2.50)			(86.25)	(100.00)	(35.00)	(62.50)	(100.00)
Bullock/ He	6				74	9		71	80
	(7.50)				(92.50)	(100.00)	(11.25)	(88.75)	(100.00)
Buffalo Goat					80	6	5	62	80
					(100.00)	(100.00)	(7.50)	(77.50)	(100.00)
Poultry	2				78	3	2	75	80
	(2.50)				(97.50)	(100.00)	(3.75)	(93.75)	(100.00)
Piggery	3				76	3		75	80
	(3.75)				(95.00)	(100.00)	(3.75)	(93.75)	(100.00)
Sheep					80	2		78	80
					(100.00)	(100.00)	(2.50)	(97.50)	(100.00)
Donkey					79	1		79	80
					(98.75)	(100.00)	(1.25)	(98.75)	(100.00)

The vast commercial potential that dairy development offers for improving the economic condition of the people, has however, not been tapped so far due to lack of infra-structural facilities as also due to lack of systematic and organised efforts both on the part of people and official agencies.

Cottage Industry

Table 5.09 illustrates the ownership pattern of cottage industries in Dhanoli and Semra, at the two points in time under reference. In 1970-71, a total number of ten respondents in Dhanoli had their own cottage industry whereas 13 respondents owned cottage industry in Semra. The table further shows that in the case of Dhanoli, some of the respondents owned cottage industry as well as agricultural land. In Semra, however, there were none, with both cottage industry and agricultural land. While 2.50% in Semra were having weaving industry, in Dhanoli, none of the respondents were engaged in this trade. By 1980-81, the number of cottage industries had registered a growth of only 2.50% in Dhanoli whereas in the case of Semra, there was no change in the number of cottage industries, between the two points in time. Though, in Dhanoli, a majority of the sample were employed in the shoe-making industry, a fraction among them were having their own business. Even among the small group having own industry, the increase in the value of assets was only nominal.

Housing

The tables (No.5.10, A, B & C) on the housing pattern, throw light on the condition of housing including the type of structure, the area of the plot etc. As shown in table 5.10(a) 90% of the respondents in both the villages were house

Ownership pattern of Cottage Industry

Value of Industry (in Rs.)	1970-71		1980-81		1970-71		1980-81		1970-71		1980-81	
	Cottage industry (shoe-making)	Cottage industry (shoe-making)	Cottage industry (shoe-making)	Cottage industry (shoe-making)	Cottage industry (shoe-making)	Cottage industry (shoe-making)	Cottage industry (shoe-making)	Cottage industry (shoe-making)	Cottage industry (shoe-making)	Cottage industry (shoe-making)	Cottage industry (shoe-making)	Cottage industry (shoe-making)
1. - - - 2. - - -	2. - - -	3. - - -	4. - - -	5. - - -	6. - - -	7. - - -	8. - - -	9. - - -	10. - - -	11. - - -	12. - - -	13. - - -
Less than 1000	4 (5.00)	1 (1.25)	5 (6.25)	2 (2.50)	1 (1.25)	3 (3.75)	6 (7.50)	2 (2.50)	8 (10.00)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)
1001 to 2,000	2 (2.50)	2 (2.50)	2 (2.50)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)
2001 to 3000	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)	1 (1.25)
3001 to 4,000	-	-	-	3 (3.75)	2 (2.50)	5 (6.25)	2 (2.50)	2 (2.50)	2 (2.50)	3 (3.75)	1 (1.25)	4 (5.00)
4,001 and above	2 (2.50)	-	2 (2.50)	2 (2.50)	2 (2.50)	4 (5.00)	3 (3.75)	3 (3.75)	3 (3.75)	4 (5.00)	4 (5.00)	4 (5.00)
Total:	7 (8.75)	3 (3.75)	10 (12.50)	8 (10.00)	5 (6.25)	13 (16.25)	11 (13.75)	2 (2.50)	13 (16.25)	11 (13.75)	2 (2.50)	13 (16.25)

By 1981, 7% of the homeless in Dhanoli and 8% in Semra had acquired own houses. A small number owned 3 to 4 houses.

A majority had one-room houses. A large number had a tool room and store, but only a very small percentage had a separate kitchen. There was not a single house having provision of bath room/latrine.

A majority of the houses were built on plots of less than 100 sq. yards. Only a small number had more than 400 sq. yards. There was no significant improvement in the total area of the plot during the decade. In Dhanoli, there was a slight improvement in the type of structure, of the houses. In Semra, however, houses continued to be kacha, built of mud and had thatched roofs.

A major part of Dhanoli village was destroyed in a big fire, some years ago, and among the new houses that have sprung up, the harijan and non harijan houses are found next to each other. However, the government sponsored housing colony that has come up recently, is on the other side of the village in a separate area. In Semra, the Scheduled Castes live in a separate basti, far away from the higher caste colonies. So far there has not been any government sponsored housing colony, only land sites have been distributed.

Household Articles...

Table 5.11 illustrates the ownership pattern of household equipment. An analysis of the table reveals that a majority owned cots in both the villages, which is a basic item of

Table No. 5.10(a)

Type wise distribution of Houses

Dhanoli		1970-71		1980-81	
Details of houses.	1	2	3	4 and above	Total
No. of houses.	63	7	2		
	(78.75)	(8.75)	(2.50)		
No. of rooms	31	25	11	5	80
	(38.75)	(31.25)	(13.75)	(6.25)	(100.00)
Tool room & store.	15	1			17
	(18.75)	(1.25)			(21.25)
Cattle sheds/ attached houses.	13	1			15
	(16.25)	(1.25)			(18.75)
Separate kitchen	8				8
	(10.00)				(10.00)
Semra					
No. of Houses.	68	3			80
	(85.50)	(3.75)			(100.00)
No. of rooms	42	19	8	3	80
	(52.50)	(23.75)	(10.00)	(3.75)	(100.00)
Tool room & store	23	1			27
	(28.75)	(1.25)			(33.75)
Cattle sheds/ attached houses.	12				13
	(15.00)				(16.25)
Separate kitchen	8				9
	(10.00)				(11.25)

Type of Structure

[illegible]

Area of the plot in
sq. yards.

Size-wise distribution of Houses

[illegible]

household furniture. A sizeable number owned between 5-6 cots. However, other type of furniture like beds, tables and chairs were owned by an insignificant number. In Dhanoli, respondents owning watches showed an increase of about 27% over a period of ten years. Another indicator of the improved standard of living relates to the increase in the number owning cycles, in both Dhanoli and in Semra. In Dhanoli, the figures are more remarkable registering an increase of about 28%. This has made the villager very mobile. He cycles down to Agra spending less than an hour on the journey, to work as well as to sell shoes and other goods. In the case of Semra, too, the increase is quite significant. A small number also possess transistors in both the villages.

Annual Household Income

Figure II presents the total annual household income of respondent families from all sources. In 1970-71, a majority of the families in both the villages, 45% in Dhanoli and 67.50% in Semra, had a total annual income between Rs.1,000 to Rs.2,000. However, a small group of respondents constituting 5% in Dhanoli and 3.75% in Semra could not show any source of income for the year 1970-71 as they were not in the work force in that year. Also, they were not heads of the household at that time, but were part of larger joint families. By 1980-81, a total of 21.15% families in Dhanoli had an annual income in the range of Rs.2001 to Rs.3,000, while 16.25% were in the income range of Rs.4,001 to 5,000. However, a large number in Semra (33.75%) were still in the income range of Rs.1,000 to Rs.2,000, whereas 22.50% were in the income group of Rs.2001 to Rs.3,000.

Table 5.11

Ownership pattern of household articlesDHANOLI

Type of articles	1970-71					1980-81				
	1-2	3-4	5-6	6+	NA	Total	1-2	3-4	5-6	6+ NA Total
Cots	2 (2.50)	24 (30.00)	25 (31.25)	4 (5.00)	25 (31.25)	80 (100.00)	4 (5.00)	25 (31.25)	25 (31.25)	4 (5.00) 22 (27.50) 80 (100.00)
Beds	-	-	-	-	80 (100.00)	80 (100.00)	1 (1.25)	-	-	79 (98.75) 80 (100.00)
Tables	3 (3.75)	-	-	-	77 (95.25)	80 (100.00)	6 (7.50)	-	-	74 (92.50) 80 (100.00)
Chairs	4 (5.00)	-	-	-	76 (95.00)	80 (100.00)	7 (8.75)	-	-	73 (91.25) 80 (100.00)
Sewing machines	1 (1.25)	-	-	-	79 (98.75)	80 (100.00)	4 (5.00)	-	-	76 (95.00) 80 (100.00)
Watches	6 (7.50)	-	-	-	74 (92.50)	80 (100.00)	26 (32.50)	2 (2.50)	-	52 (65.00) 80 (100.00)
Cycles	34 (42.50)	-	-	-	46 (57.50)	80 (100.00)	56 (70.00)	-	-	24 (30.00) 80 (100.00)
Transistors	3 (3.75)	1 (1.25)	-	-	76 (95.00)	80 (100.00)	16 (20.00)	1 (1.25)	-	63 (78.75) 80 (100.00)

Continued Table No. 5.11 -70-

SEMRA

1970-71

1980-81

Type of articles	1	2	3-4	5-6	6+	NA	Total	1	2	3-4	5-6	6+	NA	Total
Cots	22		30	10	10	8	80	22		31	11	11	5	80
	(27.50)		(37.50)	(12.50)	(12.50)	(10.00)	(100.00)	(27.50)		(38.75)	(13.75)	(13.75)	(6.25)	(100.00)
Beds						80	80						80	80
						(100.00)	(100.00)						(100.00)	(100.00)
Tables	1					79	80	3					77	80
	(1.25)					(98.75)	(100.00)	(3.75)					(96.25)	(100.00)
Chairs	-					80	80	2					78	80
						(100.00)	(100.00)	(2.50)					(97.50)	(100.00)
Sewing machines	-					80	80	3					77	80
						(100.00)	(100.00)	(3.75)					(96.25)	(100.00)
Watches	2					78	80	6					74	80
	(2.50)					(97.50)	(100.00)	(7.50)					(92.50)	(100.00)
Cycles	8					72	80	22		1			57	80
	(10.00)					(90.00)	(100.00)	(27.50)		(1.25)			(71.25)	(100.00)
Transistors	2					78	80	5					75	80
	(2.50)					(97.50)	(100.00)	(6.25)					(93.75)	(100.00)

Thus, a majority in Semra continue to live below the poverty line, though 8.75% in Dhanoli and 3.75% in Semra were having an annual income of above Rs.9,000.

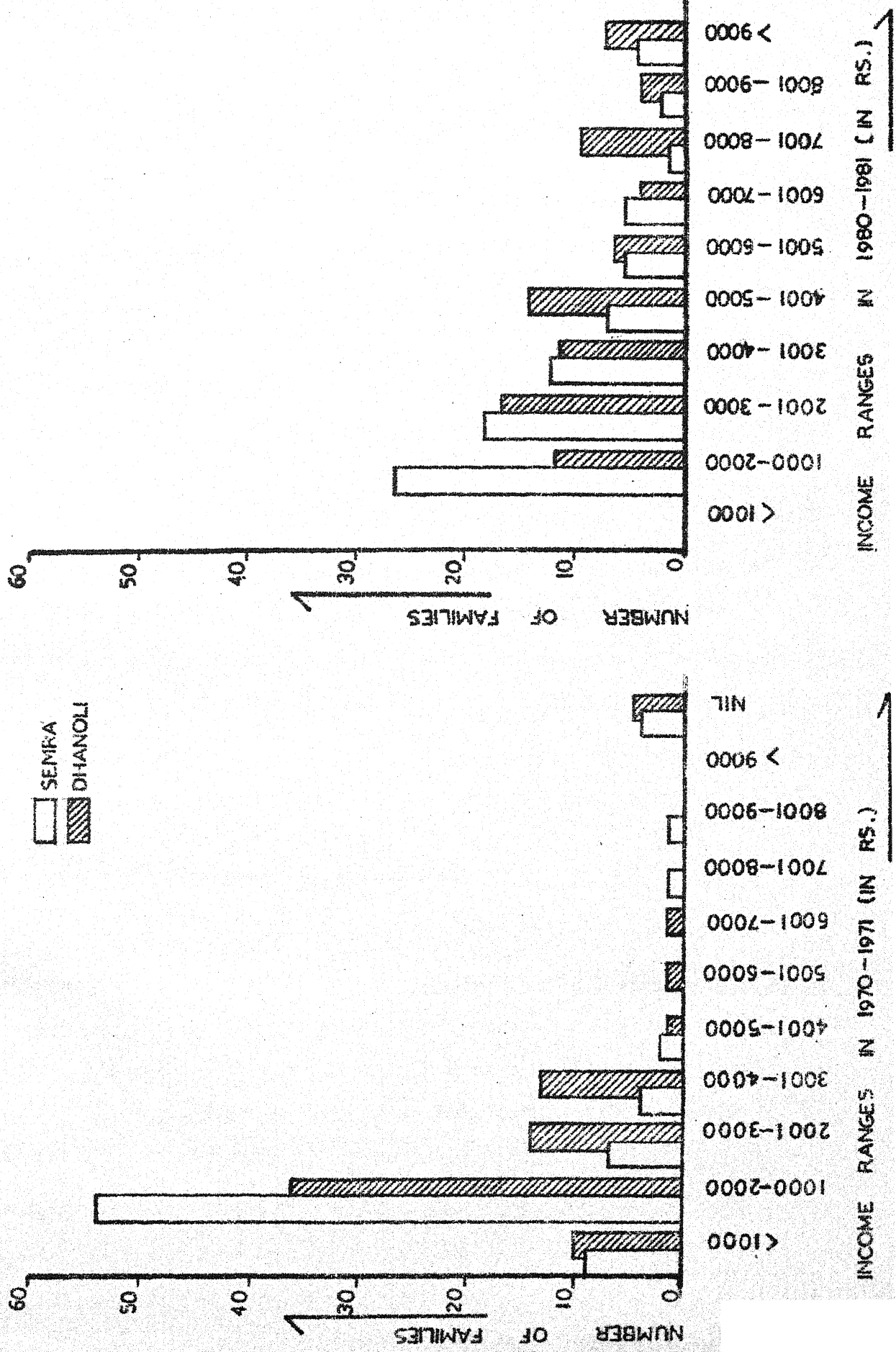
Average Annual Household Income

In 1970-71, the average family income from all sources put together, was Rs.1889.14 in the case of Dhanoli and Rs.1704.30 in Semra. By 1980-81, the average family income rose to Rs.4911.05 in Dhanoli and to Rs.3938.44 in Semra, registering a growth of 159.86% in Dhanoli and 131.08% in Semra, over the decade. The disparity in earnings, over a period of ten years, between the two villages, indeed appears to be very wide. Higher income level in Dhanoli may be on account of its nearness to an urban centre.

However, in order to get a correct picture about the extent of above increases in income levels, it is very essential also to look at the extent of increase in price level during the corresponding period. The index number of wholesale prices for all commodities increased from 100 in 1970-71 (base year) to 270.7 at the end of 1980-81* thereby showing an increase of 170.7% over 1970-71. This clearly indicates that the extent of increase in prices over this period has outstripped the extent of increase in the income of the respondents, thereby reducing their real incomes during the decade under reference.

* Source: Govt of India, Economic Survey 1981-82, Table 5.1: Index Numbers of wholesale prices, p.119.

TOTAL ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME FROM ALL SOURCES IN 1970-71 AND 1980-81.



Chapter VI

IMPACT OF PROGRAMMES

An attempt has been made in this chapter to study the impact of Governmental programmes on the socio-economic conditions of the sample families in Dhanoli and Semra villages. The impact has been analysed separately in respect of general sector schemes meant for all weaker sections including scheduled castes and special development programmes meant exclusively for scheduled castes. An effort has also been made to study the influence of modern techniques and scientific methods of farming on the rural scheduled caste population. For studying the impact of the policy, the awareness among the respondents about the programmes and their views about their implementation have also been surveyed. Accordingly, this chapter also deals separately with subjects like agriculture, education, training, social attitudes etc., under various sub-headings.

Awareness about the various schemes

It was observed that the general level of awareness of the respondents about the various programmes launched by the government over the years was very poor. As table 6.01 shows, a total number of only 26.25% in Dhanoli and 20% in Semra were aware of some programme or the other. Even among this small group, a large number could not identify any specific programme they were aware of. The other respondents mentioned programmes for distribution of house sites and agricultural land as some of the schemes they were aware of.

Table 6.01

Awareness about the various
Schemes .

Responses	<u>Village</u>			
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Yes (aware)	21	26.25	16	20.00
No (Not aware)	59	73.75	64	80.00
Total:	80	100.00	80	100.00

Source of information

When questioned about the source of their information regarding the schemes, 16.25% in Dhanoli and 12.50% in Semra mentioned the officials at block and village level as the source of their information. The other sources of information mentioned were the banks, the general public, the village pradhan and the media, as can be seen from table 6.02. Most of the respondents in Semra complained against the indifferent attitude of the village level worker whereas in Dhanoli they expressed satisfaction with his work.

Table 6.02

Source of Information about the schemes.

Source	Village			
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Officials at block and village level.	13	16.25	10	12.50
Banks	1	1.25		
General Public	2	2.50	2	2.50
Village Pradhan	4	5.00	2	2.50
Newspaper/Radio	1	1.25	2	2.50
NA	59	73.75	64	80.00
Total:	80	100.00	80	100.00

No. of families benefitted under the general sector schemes and the type of benefit.

Table 6.03(A.B.C and D) give details on the number of sample families to have benefitted under the general sector schemes, together with the type of benefit derived, the year of receipt of assistance, and the quantum of benefit.

While 32.50% in Dhanoli had benefitted from the general sector schemes, in the case of Semra it was only 10% of the sample who had been benefitted under some of the schemes meant for the general upliftment of the weaker sections. Assistance came to most of them in the form of cash and raw material for industry.

The other forms of assistance were sewing machine and cloth material, cash for buying buffalo, cash for wells, pumps sets and diesel engine and agricultural inputs.

While 10% had received this assistance between 1971-1975, 30% had got the benefit between 1976-81. The remaining 2.5% had received assistance between 1965-1970.

The majority got an assistance of less than Rs.3,000. However, 3.75% in Dhanoli had benefitted in the range of Rs.4001 to 5000 and another 1.25% had received benefit worth more than Rs.5001. This was mainly for installing pump set.

Table 6.03(A)

No. of Respondents who received assistance
for improving their economic condition,
under general sector schemes.

Responses	<u>Village</u>			
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Assistance received	26	32.50	8	10.00
Assistance not received.	54	67.50	72	90.00
Total :	80	100.00	80	100.00

Table 6.03(B)

Type of Assistance received.

Type of assistance	Village			
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Sheep	1	1.25		
Cash for Industry	11	13.75		
Raw material for industry	1	1.25	5	6.25
Sewing machine and cloth material	3	3.75	1	1.25
Cash for buying buffalo	5	6.25	2	2.50
Cash for well and pump set	2	2.50		
Cash for diesel engine	1	1.25		
Agricultural inputs	2	2.50		
NA	54	67.50	72	90.00
Total :	80	100.00	80	100.00

Table 6.03 (C)

Year of receipt of assistance

Year	<u>Village</u>			
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1965 to 1970	2	2.50	-	
1971 to 1975	8	10.00	-	
1976 to 1981	16	20.00	8	10.00
NA	54	67.50	72	90.00
Total:	80	100.00	80	100.00

Table 6.03(D)

Total amount sanctioned

Amount (Rs.)	<u>Village</u>			
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
less than 1000	4	5.00	3	3.75
1001 to 2000	11	13.75	3	3.75
2001 to 3000	7	8.75	2	2.50
3001 to 4000	-		-	
4001 to 5000	3	3.75	-	
More than 5001	1	1.25	-	
NA	54	67.50	72	90.00
Total :	80	100.00	80	100.00

About 18.75% in Dhanoli and 5% in Semra faced no problem in getting assistance under the various schemes. However 5% in Semra and 5% in Dhanoli had to resort to bribing to get the assistance released. That there was delay in getting the assistance released, was the complaint of 8.75% beneficiaries in Dhanoli (See table 6.04).

Table 6.04

Problems faced in getting assistance

Responses	Village			
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Received without any problem	15	18.75	4	5.00
Faced delay in getting assistance	7	8.75	-	-
Paid bribe to the officials	4	5.00	4	5.00
NA	54	67.50	72	90.00
Total :	80	100.00	80	100.00

The perception of the beneficiaries regarding the assistance received was also recorded. Of the total number of respondents who faced difficulties and delay, in getting the assistance released, a majority of respondents in

Dhanoli felt that the assistance was inadequate. This was specially so in view of the bribes and the money they had to spend to go to different offices for the loan. About 1.25% of the sample felt that the material supplied was of a substandard quality and desired a freehand in selecting it. All the dissatisfied respondents in Semra said they were not given the full amount sanctioned as the officers cut their own share from it.

Assistance under the special development programmes

Under the special development programmes meant exclusively for the Scheduled Castes, more respondents in Semra (12.50%) than in Dhanoli (3.75%) had derived benefit under the housing scheme. This benefit was in the form of house sites, which were given to them between 1971 to 1980 in phases. (see table 6.05) However, the gross value of the benefit was below Rs.2,000. Here, again, the beneficiaries had to pay bribes for getting the plots registered.

The benefit derived from other programmes meant exclusively for the Scheduled Castes like the schemes for reservation of jobs in Government service and scholarships for Scheduled Caste students are also discussed in this chapter.

Table 6.05

Assistance under the special development programmes meant exclusively for Scheduled Castes.

Type of benefit (Land for house site)	<u>Village</u>			
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
No. of beneficiaries	3	3.75	10	12.50
NA	77	96.25	70	87.50
Total :	80	100.00	80	100.00

Benefit under the land reforms scheme

Seventeen respondents in Dhanoli and 33 in Semra were land holders in 1970-71. By 1980-81 the number of land holders had gone up to 19 in Dhanoli and to 56 in Semra. Two of the respondents in Dhanoli and 23 in Semra had been given land under the land distribution scheme.

The land distribution programme has had little impact on Dhanoli, where only two, among the nineteen landholding respondents had been allotted land. In Semra, however, 28.75% had benefitted from the land reforms scheme. The poor performance in Dhanoli may be attributed to the fact that there is hardly any surplus land in this village, where half the land has been used for the construction of the Air Force station.

Year of receiving land, type of land and Area (in Bigha)

All the beneficiaries were allotted land during 1976-77. The type of land given to most of them was, however, of a very poor quality and undeveloped. Moreover, the quantity of land allotted, was less than a bigha.

Thus, it can be inferred that the land distribution scheme has had little impact on the economic conditions of the scheduled castes mainly on account of the poor quality and the insufficient quantity of land allotted.

Land use pattern of the beneficiaries.

In Semra 16.25% of the beneficiaries were raising only one crop in a year. The two beneficiaries in Dhanoli and 10% of them in Semra were not making any use of their land, because of the uneconomic size of holding and unproductive nature of the land. However, two beneficiaries in Semra were raising two crops in a year. Table 6.06 shows the land use pattern of the beneficiaries.

Table 6.06

Land use pattern of the beneficiaries

Type of land/Use	Village			
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
<u>Cultivated Land</u>				
of which -				
One crop cultivation	-		13	16.25
Two crops cultivation	-		2	2.50
Uncultivable land	2	2.50	8	10.00
NA	78	97.50	57	71.25
Total :	80	100.00	80.00	100.00

Source of finance for improving the undeveloped land

As stated earlier, both the beneficiaries in Dhanoli, were not cultivating the land because of its uneconomic size which was less than a bigha and its unproductive quality. They had however, not tried to develop the land mainly because they could not afford to pay the high interest rates charged by the banks. Also, the size of the land was too small to make investment an attractive proposition. Many respondents complained about corruption being rampant in the banking and co-operative sectors. In Semra, 10% beneficiaries availed of bank loans to improve their lands, whereas 8.75% tried improving their lands by whatever resources they had, as they, too, complained about corruption among bank officials. The 10% beneficiaries who had availed of loans from the bank, identified the Canara Bank as the source of finance. While 8.75% had taken a loan of Rs.100, 1.25% had borrowed a total amount of Rs.300. They received the loan in 1976, and the interest charged was 14%.

Receipt of pattas

Both the beneficiaries in Dhanoli had received 'pattas' of the land given to them by Government, whereas 18.75 out of a total of 28.75% had received 'pattas' in Semra. However, they complained about the Patwari taking bribes for giving 'pattas'. They had got the 'pattas' only after they had given money to the patwari. The others complained that the Patwari was not giving them the 'pattas' as they could not pay the amount demanded by him.

Harassment by previous landlords

None of the respondents complained of any sort of harassment by the previous landlords. Presumably because, the quality of land was very poor and unproductive, it did not challenge the position of the landlords.

Land in possession of respondents or transferred

All the beneficiary families were still in possession of the land given to them, and had not transferred or sold it. They were of the view that it would be difficult to sell it, because of its unproductive nature.

Awareness regarding scientific methods of farming

From among the land holders in the two villages, 14.17 respondents in Dhardi and 32.50 in Semra, showed knowledge of scientific agricultural inputs. The knowledge of scientific agricultural inputs was observed in terms of awareness of high yield varieties, chemical fertilizer and Insecticides/pesticides, the mean value of which is shown in table 6.07.

Table 6.07
Awareness about scientific agricultural inputs

		HYV				Chemical Fertilizer				Insecticides/Pesticides			
		1. Dhanoli		2. Semra		1. Dhanoli		2. Semra		1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
Frequency		Per- tage	Freq- ency	Per- tage	Freq- ency	per- tage	Freq- ency	per- tage	Freq- ency	per- tage	Freq- ency	per- tage	Freq- ency
Yes													
Y (Aware)	11	13.75	26	32.50	14	17.50	26	32.50	9	11.25	26	32.50	
No (Not Aware)	8	10.00	30	37.50	5	6.25	30	37.50	10	12.50	30	37.50	
NA (Non-land holders)	61	76.25	24	30.00	61	76.25	24	30.33	61	76.25	24	30.00	
Total:	80	100.00	80	100.00	80	100.00	80	100.00	80	100.00	80	100.00	
		Dhanoli				Semra							
		No Aware	-	14.17			No. Aware	-	32.50				
		No. not Aware.	-	9.59			No. Not Aware.	-	37.50			Mean	

In terms of use of modern agricultural inputs it was found that only 8% of the farmers in Dhanoli and 20% in Semra were using these inputs. Enquiries revealed that those who were aware of modern agricultural inputs but were not using them were doing it for primarily 3 reasons i.e. viz., uneconomic nature of land holdings, lack of irrigation facilities, lack of finance.

Assistance for buying agricultural inputs

Only about 3.75% in Dhanoli and 2.50% in Semra had received assistance for buying agricultural inputs. The three main agencies giving this type of assistance were the Co-operative Govt. Krishi Store, Bank and the Caste subsidy dept. Agra. Assistance received was in the form of seeds/subsidy/credit. The rate of interest varied from 4% to 11% per annum. In the course of the interview, it was stated by the respondents that there was no outstanding debt pending against their loan.

Source of irrigation.

Most of the respondents stated that their main source of irrigation were private tube wells, owned by the rich

landlords, the charges for which varied between Rs.12-16 for an hour's water supply. In Semra 7.50% were paying charges as high as Rs.16 per hour. They strongly feel that they are being cheated by the rich farmers but expressed a feeling of despair and helplessness as they do not have any alternative source of water supply. The water rates are specially high because the pump sets are run on diesel engine as there is no electric supply either in Dhanoli or in Semra. However, a small group comprising of about 4% in Dhanoli and 2.50% in Semra, have their own irrigation facilities. A large number, are still dependent on the benevolence of nature.

The source of finance for acquiring self irrigational facilities were mainly three - Banks, LDB, own resources.

As can be seen from the foregoing analysis, most of the holdings are uneconomic being less than a bigha and devoid of basic facilities like water supply etc.

Marketing

Table 6.08 presents the marketing pattern in the two villages. While 3.75% in Dhanoli were marketing their agricultural produce within the village itself, the percentage of respondents following this pattern was higher in Semra (13.75%). Here, it may be mentioned that Semra has a weekly mandi on an elaborate scale, attracting traders from outside the village too. About 2.50% in Dhanoli and 12.50% in Semra were marketing their agricultural produce outside the village, through private middle men, who made the maximum profit in the bargain. However, a majority of land holders, both in Dhanoli and in Semra, had no surplus to market. The marketing pattern for products from cottage industries presented a similar picture wherein a majority in both Dhanoli and in Semra were selling their goods outside the village, through private middle men. Though they were aware of the fact that they were being exploited, there was no way of eliminating the middlemen from the scene, in the absence of any other alternative arrangement. There was no co-operative society or any Governmental organisation in Dhanoli as well as in Semra, for marketing agricultural produce and products from cottage industry.

Table C.08

Marketing Pattern

Agriculture			Industry		
Marketing Pattern	Village		Village		
	1. Dhanoli	2. Semra	1. Dhanoli	2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Percentage
Market in Village	3	3.75	11	13.75	1.25
Market outside the village					
Through co-operative society	-	-	-	-	-
Through some Government organisation.	-	-	-	-	-
Through Private middle men	2	2.50	10	12.50	15.00
No surplus to market	14	17.50	35	43.75	7
Have no land / Industry.	61	76.25	24	30.00	83.75
Total :	80	100.00	80	100.00	100.00

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Job reservation for Scheduled Castes

Awareness regarding reservation of jobs for the Scheduled Castes, in different categories of Government service, was quite poor. While 32.50% in Dhanoli were aware of job reservation, awareness in Semra was slightly better (37.50%) (see table 6.09).

Table 6.09
Awareness regarding job reservation

Responses	Village			
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes (Aware)	26	32.50	30	37.50
No (Not Aware)	54	67.50	50	62.50
Total :	80	100.00	80	100.00

A total no. of 7.50% families in Dhanoli and 6.25% families in Semra had benefitted from job reservations in the following professions - teaching, clerical, armed forces, class IV in Government services (Peon, Sweeping). The majority were drawing a salary between Rs.201 to Rs.400 per month. Thus, a marginal number of sample households had benefitted from job reservations in Government service. The following table gives a clear picture of the kind of employment given to the beneficiaries.

Table 6.10

No. benefitted in the different types of professions.

Type of job	<u>Village</u>			
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Clerical	1	1.25		
Peon	3	3.75	2	2.50
Army/Air force	2	2.50	1	1.25
Teaching	-		1	1.25
Sweeper	-	-	1	1.25
NA	74	92.50	75	93.75
Total:	80	100.00	80	100.00

Education

Awareness about the various Governmental measures/schemes meant for the educational advancement of Scheduled Castes was higher in Semra(81.25%) than in Dhanoli (58.75%), as can be seen from table 6.11.

Table 6.11.

Awareness about the various Governmental measures/schemes for the educational advancement of Scheduled Castes.

	N=80		N=80	
Responses	<u>Village</u>			
	1. Dhanoli	2. Semra	1. Dhanoli	2. Semra
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Aware	47	58.75	65	81.25
Not Aware	33	41.25	15	18.75
Total:	80	100.00	80	100.00

While 80% in Dhanoli considered education necessary for their advancement, the number of respondents holding this view was higher in Semra (93.75). On being asked, whether training in traditional occupation is more beneficial than formal education, 67.50% in Dhanoli and 42.50% in Semra answered in the affirmative. The number of respondents stating this was much higher in Dhanoli when compared to Semra, where people feel that teaching sophisticated techniques of shoe making would be more useful in improving their economic condition. (table 6.12 and 6.13)

Table 6.12

Views of the respondents on whether education is considered useful.

Responses	<u>Village</u>			
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	percentage	Frequency	percentage
Yes	64	80.00	75	93.75
No	8	10.00	3	3.75
Uncertain	8	10.00	2	2.50
Total :	80	100.00	80	100.00

Table 6.13

Whether training in traditional
occupation is more beneficial than
formal education.

Responses	Village			
	1.Dhanoli		2.Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	54	67.50	34	42.50
No	21	26.25	44	55.00
Uncertain	5	6.25	2	2.50
Total :	80	100.00	80	100.00

Among the sample population, 31 families in Dhanoli and 33 families in Semra were sending their children to school, which means more than half of the sample population were not sending children to school.

About 36.25% in Dhanoli and 31.25% in Semra felt that loss to family income was the main hurdle in sending children to school. However, a majority in both Dhanoli and Semra were prepared to send their children to night schools. Most of the respondents desired all facilities like books, clothes, finance and free meals for sending children to school.

Eighty two percent in Dhanoli and 91.25% in Semra attached same importance to to Girls' education as to boys. However, a large majority in Dhanoli (72.50%) preferred vocational training rather than formal education for girls.

The number of families to have benefitted from scholarships

Among the households surveyed, 22.50% families in Dhanoli and 18.75% in Semra had derived benefit from Government scholarships. A majority of beneficiaries were getting Rs.18 per month by way of scholarship and most of them found the scholarship amount inadequate.

Lack of awareness of the schemes providing scholarships and inability to send children to school due to poverty, were the two reasons given by a majority of respondents, for not availing scholarship. The other reasons cited were as follows :- children studying in private school; demand by officials for a share in the benefit; children not of school going age; irregular attendance of the children; and the indifferent attitude of officials.

A common feeling expressed by the respondents was that no attempt is ever made to inform them about the schemes and programmes. That for getting any benefit they have to pay a share to the officials. A poor opinion about Government schooling was held by a majority of the respondents. Most of them felt that if they could afford it, they would

prefer sending their children to private schools. The only schools doing well in both the villages are privately run schools. Though the private schools face the handicap of inadequate accommodation (classes are held in the open), they still get the maximum number of students. Teachers working in the Government run schools complain about lack of proper accommodation etc. which they hold responsible for the poor attendance. However, during the course of the survey it was found that most of the teachers were either absent from duty or they arrived late for the classes. The teachers travelled daily to and fro between Agra and the villages, which left them dependent on the bus service, to reach their place of work, and specially reaching an inaccessible village like Semra, which has a very poor bus service, they were always late for work. By the time they reached school, the children were already out to play. The Government schools presented a deserted look and though there were a good number of students enrolled in the different classes, there were only a handful to be seen in the classes.

Adult Education Programme

Most of the respondents had not heard about the adult literacy programme. However, in both Dhanoli and in Semra, the adult literacy programme has been abandoned altogether. The officials said they had to close down the centres because of paucity of funds. A majority of respondents stated that even when the adult literacy classes were held, they could not attend them because of opposition from the higher castes.

Training

As table 6.14 shows, a majority of the respondents were not aware about the existence of training centres in their village though there is a training centre in Dhanoli under the TRYSEM Scheme. However, there are no training centres in Semra proper. The TRYSEM centre in Dhanoli imparts training in the weaving craft.

Table 6.14.

Awareness about vocational training facilities in their area.

Responses	<u>Village</u>			
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes (Aware)	25	31.25	26	32.50
No (Not Aware)	51	63.75	41	51.25
Uncertain	4	5.00	13	16.25
Total :	80	100.00	80	100.00

A larger group of respondents (51.25%) in Dhanoli than in Semra (30%), expressed willingness for undergoing training. (see table 6.15A).

Table 6.15 (A)

Whether willing to be trained.

Responses	<u>Village</u>			
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	41	51.25	24	30.00
No	35	43.75	46	57.50
Uncertain	4	5.00	10	12.50
Total:	80	100.00	80	100.00

The reasons for unwillingness as cited by the unwilling respondents were as follows:-

Lack of information about the schemes; stipend money is not even 1/4 of what they normally earn; satisfied with present farm occupation; prefer jobs rather than training; higher castes oppose their presence.

An overwhelming majority in Dhanoli, wanted to be trained in the modern techniques of shoe-making while a large number in Semra wanted training in the mechanic trade. The other areas as suggested by the respondents who were willing to be trained are listed below:-

Mechanic trade, Tailoring, Carpentry, Weaving and Driver's training. Table 6.15(B), gives a clear picture of the training needs of the respondents.

Table 6.15(B).

Suggestions regarding their training needs.

Type of training suggested	<u>Village</u>			
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Mechanic trade	-	-	11	45.83
Driver's training	-	-	3	12.50
Weaving	1	2.44	-	-
Carpentary	1	2.44	-	-
Tailoring	4	9.76	4	16.67
Shoe-making	24	58.54	5	20.83
Any trade	3	7.32	1	4.17
Uncertain	8	19.51	-	-
Total :	41	100.00	24	100.00

However, none among the sample surveyed had undergone training either under the TRYSEM scheme or any other scheme, sponsored by the Government. As stated earlier, a majority of respondents were not aware of vocational training facilities in their area. A large number were not willing to undergo training because of lack of knowledge about the schemes. Inadequate stipend was another important reason advanced for their unwillingness.

Though, a majority of the sample population in Dhanoli, (the Scheduled Castes account for 46.50% of the total population in the village) desired training in scientific techniques of shoe-making, the TRYSEM centre in Dhanoli has been imparting training in the weaving technology. The emphasis here, is on shoe-making and a majority of the sample are artisans.

The training centre in Dhanoli presents a poor picture. Though, there were a number of trainees (50) on the rolls, there were only a handful of young boys between the age group of 12 - 16 years, present at the centre. There was a separate training centre for women in Dhanoli, which was doing no better. This Centre was imparting training in the tailoring craft. Surprisingly, there was only one lady undergoing training at this centre. In Semra, however, the Scheduled Caste population was not particularly enthusiastic about undergoing training, the emphasis here, being on agriculture and allied activities.

SOCIAL ATTITUDES

This section on social attitudes was administered to all the 160 heads of households who formed the respondents in Dhanoli and Semra.

Awareness of the Untouchability Act: To the question, are you aware of the untouchability Act?

63.75% of the respondents in Dhanoli and 87.50% respondents in Semra answered in the affirmative. As table 6.16 shows, more respondents in Semra than in Dhanoli were aware of this Act despite the fact that Dhanoli has a high urban exposure unlike Semra.

Table 6.16.

Awareness about untouchability Act.

Responses	Village			
	1.Dhanoli		2.Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes (Aware)	51	63.75	70	87.50
No (Not Aware)	29	36.25	10	12.50
Total :	80	100.00	80	100.00

Violaters of the Act.

Seventy percent of the respondents in Dhanoli and 90% in Semra said that there were offenders of untouchability Act, in their village. Here, again, the responses of the two villages, present a marked difference. As can be seen from table 6.17 the practice of untouchability is more severe in far off Semra than in Dhanoli, a peripheral village of Agra, though more people in Semra than in Dhanoli were aware of the

untouchability Act. The following castes were held responsible, for violating the Act:-

All the higher castes, Sunar Smith Community, Brahmin and Thakurs, only Thakurs. A majority felt that all the higher castes in general were responsible for practising untouchability.

Table 6.17

Violators of the untouchability Act.

Opinion expressed	<u>Village</u>			
	1.Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
All higher castes	29	36.25	36	45.00
Brahmin and Thakurs	9	11.25	5	6.25
Sunar Samithi	12	15.00	13	16.25
Thakurs	-		8	10.00
Uncertain	6	7.50	10	12.50
NA	24	30.00	8	10.00
Total:	80	100.00	80	100.00

Working of Special reservations on Panchayats.

A majority of the respondents again said, that the Scheduled Caste members were not allowed to sit with other caste members. More respondents in Dhanoli (71.25%) than in Semra (43.75%) expressed this view which means that even though Dhanoli is in the vicinity of Agra, this discrimination is going unchecked. Only 28.75% in Dhanoli but 56.25% in

Semra were of the view, that the other castes had no objection against seating the Scheduled Castes members along with them. Most of the respondents felt their representatives had failed to make any contribution towards their welfare and upliftment, that the higher castes continue to dominate and take the lion's share of all benefits.

Table 6.18.

Whether Scheduled Caste members of the Panchayat are allowed to sit on bench or chair on equal footing with the other members of the Panchayat.

Responses	<u>Village</u>			
	1. Dhanoli	Percentage	2. Semra	Percentage
Yes	23	28.75	45	56.25
No	57	71.25	35	43.75
Total :	80	100.00	80	100.00

Use of wells, temples and schools

About 72.50% in Dhanoli and 82.50% in Semra said, there were separate wells and temples for them and that they could not go near those that were meant for caste Hindus. Only a small group said, there were no such restrictions*.

* There are separate wells and temples for the Scheduled Castes in both the villages whereas schools are common.

Practice of untouchability within the Scheduled Castes

The respondents were asked, whether untouchability was practiced among the Scheduled Castes themselves. To this question, a total of 86.25 in Dhanoli and 55% in Semra replied that they do not discriminate amongst themselves. This is so as they could not expect equal treatment from the higher castes if they themselves could not practice it within their own castes. However, 13.75% in Dhanoli but a much larger number, constituting 45% in Semra, practice untouchability and they neither eat in the houses of nor live in the same locality as the castes placed below them, in the Scheduled Caste hierarchy. Thus, as table 6.19. shows, this practice is prevalent to a larger degree in far off Semra than in Dhanoli.

Table 6.19

Whether untouchability is practiced
among the Scheduled Castes.

Responses	<u>Village</u>			
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	11	13.75	36	45.00
No	69	86.25	44	55.00
Total :	80	100.00	80	100.00

Causes for Social tensions

Eighty percent respondents in Dhanoli and 61.25% in Semra, were aware of incidents of beating, insult, abuse, torture, murder of Harijans resulting in social tensions in their village. It is quite possible that those expressing ignorance about such incidents preferred to remain silent, for fear of the landlords.

Of those aware of such incidents, a majority felt that the practice of untouchability, led to untoward incidents. Bad language used by the higher castes, mutual distrust, and social disharmony, leading often to conflict, were also causes for social tensions.

The respondents who said there was no social tension in the village, attributed it to the high proportion of the Scheduled Caste population. Also because they believed in peaceful living, and never tried to fight with the higher castes. Some felt there was social harmony because of mutual good will among the various castes.

The Scheduled Caste Women

In Dhanoli 25% respondents and in Semra 21.25% respondents expressed awareness about cases of rape, molestation and other incidents involving their womanhood. This being a very sensitive issue, very few were willing to speak the truth. When asked to describe the type of incident that had occurred, they listed the following - beating and abuse, rape of

Scheduled Caste married women by Thakurs and Pradhan, rape of three unmarried Scheduled Caste girls by some Thakurs and Brahmins.

Forces behind the caste riots.

A large number of respondents both in Dhanoli and in Semra were of the view that there were certain forces operating at the back of caste riots. The following organisations were identified as some of them - The Thakur caste Panchayat, the Brahmin Caste Panchayat, the Sunar Caste Panchayat etc. By and large all higher caste panchayats were held responsible for fanning communal hatred. (See table 6.20)

Table 6.20.

Type of caste or political organisation
instigating caste tensions in the village.

Type of organization	N=80		N=80	
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Brahmin Caste Panchayat	9	11.25	6	7.50
Thakur, Sunar etc. caste Panchayat.	2	2.50	2	2.50
Thakur Caste Panchayat.	9	11.25	13	16.25
Sunar Caste Panchayat.	4	5.00	-	-
Political Leader (Brahmin)	2	2.50	-	-
All Caste Panchayats	10	12.50	7	8.75
Uncertain	6	7.50	13	16.25
NA	38	47.50	39	48.75
Total:	80	100.00	80	100.00

Scheduled Caste reaction against the atrocities.

An overwhelming number of respondents both in Dhanoli (88.75%) and in Semra (92.50%) said they would not hesitate, if the situation so demanded, to fight those committing atrocities on them. A majority of the respondents expressed awareness of the Scheduled Caste organisation fighting for their rights. Thus, it is interesting to note that the Scheduled Castes have developed the will to fight for their rights.

Solution to the problems

As can be seen from table 6.21, certain suggestions were put forward by the respondents, which they felt could solve their problems and improve their socio-economic status. They felt that a revolutionary change in attitudes could be brought about only through removal of untouchability, illiteracy and castism; equal socio-economic status at par with the other castes; more effective village Panchayat and Government administration; legal action and judicial intervention; and education and economic development. Thus, a majority felt, that lack of education was mainly responsible for their backwardness. Also, the poor economic condition of the Scheduled Caste families, came in the way of their progress and development.

Table 6.21.

Suggestions on the solution of their problems

Suggestions.	<u>Village</u>			
	1. Dhanoli		2. Semra	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Through removal of untouchability, illitracy, and castism.	9	11.25	16	20.00
With the help of law and its efficient implementation.	3	3.75	-	
Through education and economic development.	17	21.25	14	17.50
Strong administration and caste union.	3	3.75	-	
Through village Panchayat and Government administration.	2	2.50	9	11.25
Caste organisation and panchayat.	7	8.75	9	11.25
Equal socio-economic status at par with other castes.	3	3.75	16	20.00
Mutual good will	21	26.25	2	2.50
Through legal action and judicial intervention.	4	5.00	-	
Uncertain	11	13.75	14	17.50
Total :	80	100.00	80	100.00

From the foregoing analysis, certain trends seem to emerge. Though a large majority was aware of the untouchability Act, they were however quite pessimistic about the effectiveness of the Act. The Scheduled Castes feel that seeking legal intervention is futile as first, it is time-consuming, secondly, no witness is prepared to give evidence for fear of reprisal, thirdly, the culprits many a time are the government functionaries themselves. Many voiced concern at the deteriorating law and order situation and the high handedness of the police force, the local officials and of the political leaders.

The freedom to enjoy basic facilities like entry into temples, eating places and other public places, still remains a distant dream for them, as the Scheduled Castes do not find a radical change in the attitude of the other castes, towards them. But it is interesting to note that they have become conscious of their rights and realise the strength of their numbers.

Again, the respondents could not foresee any benefit from reservations in the local bodies, as their representatives were not even allowed to sit with the other members. The Scheduled Caste representatives have failed to make any impact on the deliberations of these bodies because of this unequal status.

Views of the beneficiary and non-beneficiary respondents on the usefulness of the various programmes.

The views of the respondents (both beneficiary and non beneficiary) about the usefulness of the various schemes, the implementation of the same, and preference for the different schemes were also recorded. Table 6.22 (A,B,C,D & E) present the views of the beneficiary and non-beneficiary respondents separately, in order to assess the beneficiary and non-beneficiary's perception about the various programmes undertaken for their welfare. Half of the sample from each village consisted of beneficiary respondents.

The Quantum of benefit deprived by the Scheduled Castes.

In Dhanoli, a larger number of respondents (85%), who had benefitted under one scheme or the other, were of the view that the benefit derived by the Scheduled Castes was only marginal. The same view was held by 80% of the non-beneficiaries. However, in Semra a good number (45%) of the beneficiary respondents felt that the benefit derived was substantial while none of the non-beneficiaries thought so. Sixty percent of the non-beneficiaries were of the view that the Scheduled Castes had benefitted only marginally whereas 40% said they had not benefitted at all.

Table 6.22 (A)

Views of the beneficiary and non-beneficiary respondents
on the benefits derived from various schemes.

I. Dhanoli

2. Semra

Opinion	Beneficiary Frequency	Beneficiary Percentage	Non-Beneficiary Frequency	Non-Beneficiary Percentage	Beneficiary Frequency	Beneficiary Percentage	Non-Beneficiary Frequency	Non-Beneficiary Percentage
Substantial	5	12.50	3	7.50	18	45.00	-	-
Marginal	34	85.00	32	80.00	13	45.00	24	60.00
Not at all	1	2.50	5	12.50	4	10.00	16	40.00
Total :	40	100.00	40	100.00	40	100.00	40	100.00

Implementation of the Schemes

In both Dhanoli and in Semra, a majority of beneficiary as well as non-beneficiary respondents expressed the view that the programmes meant for the advancement of the Scheduled Castes have not been faithfully implemented. The beneficiaries said corruption was rampant in all quarters and only a part of the benefit trickled down to them. According to the non-beneficiaries they could not reach the benefit as they could not bribe their way through.

Table 6.22(B).

Whether the Schemes have been faithfully implemented.

1. Dhanoli					2. Semra			
Opinion.	Beneficiary		Non-Beneficiary		Beneficiary		Non-Beneficiary	
	Frequ- ency	Percen- tage.	Frequ- ency.	Percen- tage.	Frequ- ency.	Percen- tage.	Frequ- ency.	Percen- tage.
Yes	15	37.50	9	22.50	19	47.50	8	20.00
No	25	62.50	31	77.50	21	52.50	32	80.00
Total:	40	100.00	40	100.00	40	100.00	40	100.00

The most beneficial privilege.

Loans and grants were the most beneficial of all the privileges, according to both beneficiary and non-beneficiary respondents. The non-beneficiaries were in a larger number in expressing this opinion. The next most sought after

privilege was reservation of jobs in government service.

As can be seen from the following table, scholarship was given a very low priority.

Table 6.22(C).

The most beneficial privilege

Type of beneficiary	1. Dhanoli				2. Semra			
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Scholarship	2	5.00	-	-	3	7.50	3	7.50
Loans & grants	26	65.00	36	90.00	19	47.50	27	67.50
House sites	-	-	1	2.50	1	2.50	-	-
Job reservation.	7	17.50	2	5.00	12	30.00	8	20.00
Political representation.	1	2.50	1	2.50	-	-	-	-
Agricultural land.	4	10.00	-	-	4	10.00	2	5.00
Any other (steps to eradicate untouchability)	-	-	-	-	1	2.50	-	-
Total :	40	100.00	40	100.00	40	100.00	40	100.00

The impact of government policy on the standard of living of the Scheduled Castes.

A larger number (72.50%) of beneficiary respondents in Dhanoli said that they produce sufficient to meet the consumption needs of the family. In Semra, the gap between the beneficiary and non-beneficiary was wider where 70% beneficiaries and 40% of the non-beneficiaries produced sufficient for their family needs.

Table 6.22 (D)

Whether they produce sufficient to meet the consumption needs of the family.

Resp- onse.	1. Dhanoli				2. Semra			
	Beneficiary Frequ- ency.	Perce- ntage.	Non-Beneficiary Frequ- ency.	Perce- ntage.	Beneficiary Frequ- ency.	Perce- ntage.	Non-Beneficiary Frequ- ency.	Percentage
Yes	29	72.50	21	52.50	28	70.00	16	40.00
No	11	27.50	19	47.50	12	30.00	24	60.00
Total:	40	100.00	40	100.00	40	100.00	40	100.00

Though 72.50% beneficiary respondents in Dhanoli had said they produced sufficient to meet their family needs, only 37.50% of them stated, that there was improvement in their standard of living. In the case of non-beneficiary respondents, while 52.50% had said they produced sufficient enough to meet their family requirements, 27.50% among them stated that there was improvement in their living conditions. In Semra while 70% among the beneficiaries produced sufficient for the family needs, 50% from among them said, there was noticeable improvement in

their standard of living. Among the 40% non-beneficiaries producing sufficient for their families only 15% stated improvement in their standard of living.

Table 6.22(E)

Any improvement in the standard of living

1. Dhanoli					2. Semra				
Res-	Beneficiary	Non-Beneficiary	Beneficiary	Non-Beneficiary	Beneficiary	Non-Beneficiary	Beneficiary	Non-Beneficiary	
ponses	Frequ-	Perce-	Frequ-	Perce-	Frequ-	Perce-	Frequ-	Perce-	
	ency.	tage.	ncy.	tage.	ency.	ntage.	ncy.	tage.	
Yes	15	37.50	11	27.50	20	50.00	6	15.00	
No	25	62.50	29	72.50	20	50.00	34	85.00	
Total:	40	100.00	40	100.00	40	100.00	40	100.00	

Thus, a larger number of beneficiary respondents in Semra than in Dhanoli stated improvement in their standard of living. For the majority of non-beneficiaries the position remained static, in both the villages.

During the course of the survey, it was observed that an overwhelming majority of beneficiary families were even otherwise better off than the non-beneficiary group. The families with larger land holdings had been benefitted from job reservation scheme as well as from other programmes. The benefits from government programmes continue to go to them, than to the really needy families who have neither the money nor the resources to take up the matter at the higher levels.

Chapter VII

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to highlight the major findings of the study and to present along with it, some recommendations for improvement.

Dhanoli, a peripheral village of Agra, and Semra, situated in the interior, were selected for the present study, primarily to study the impact of government policy on a fringe village and a village in the interior. A comparative study of these two villages was made so as to assess the impact of various programmes and policies, on the Scheduled Caste households..

Dhanoli and Semra presented a picture of sharp contrast. The facilities available to the villages were not the same. So also the pace of development. A good communication network essential for the development of a village, was badly lacking in Semra. The village did not have a regular bus service. It was linked by kachcha roads and the horse - drawn cart was the only other mode of transportation available. All these factors had made the village even more inaccessible. Dhanoli, on the other hand, was well-connected with Agra. The bus service was regular. Besides, other modes of transport such as autos, tractors, rickshaws and cycles were available. The main roads were also in good condition. A villager in Dhanoli was much more mobile. A large number of respondents (70%) owned cycles in Dhanoli whereas only 29% of the respondents in Semra

owned cycles. Here, it should also be noted that the distance between Dhanoli and Agra could be covered on a cycle, which is not so in the case of Semra. Incidentally, Agra is the nearest town from both Dhanoli and Semra though the distance between Agra and Dhanoli on the one hand and Semra on the other is not the same. Dhanoli is 8 km away from Agra while Semra is 21 km away from it.

Unless basic infrastructural facilities like a good network of roads is developed in Semra, it will continue to remain isolated.

The total area of Dhanoli is 1,751 acres while Semra has a much larger area of 4,741 acres. In Dhanoli, nearly one half of the land of the village has been acquired by the government, for the construction of an Air Force station. This has pushed up the property rates in Dhanoli. Between the two villages, there is a wide disparity in the value of same type of property.

The disparity in earnings between the sample families of the two villages is also widening considerably. While, in 1970-71, the average family income from all sources put together, was Rs.1889.14 in Dhanoli and Rs.1704.30 in Semra, by 1980-81 it rose to Rs. 4911.05 in Dhanoli but to only Rs.3938.44 in Semra. The sharp rise in earnings in the case of Dhanoli may again be attributed to its urban contact with Agra which has opened up new vistas of employment for the population.

One of the direct results of the Air Force's acquisition of land in Dhanoli, is the shrinking of agricultural land in that village. The total agricultural land in Dhanoli was about a thousand hectares out of which only about 757 hectares was cultivable. This leaves little scope for expansion in this field. In Semra, on the other hand, the total agricultural land was about 4,000 hectares. Among the families covered under the sample survey, only 2 families in Dhanoli and 23 families in Semra had got land from the Government. It should also be noted that only 15 families in Semra were cultivating the land allotted to them. None of the beneficiaries in Dhanoli were cultivating the land. The land given to the respondents, in both the villages, was of an inferior quality and was undeveloped. Most of the beneficiaries were raising only one crop in a year as they were dependent on the rains for feeding their farms. The only irrigation facility was private tube wells, whose owners charged exorbitant rates, which varied between Rs.12 to Rs.16 for an hour's water supply. All the beneficiaries had been given less than a bigha of land. The pertinent question to be asked here is whether the land so distributed serves any purpose? Also, has it helped in improving the economic condition of the Scheduled Castes? The data on land distribution reveals only a marginal impact of the government policy in this field. The size and quality of the land distributed, defeats the very purpose of land distribution. Organising farming on a co-operative basis would have had a much better impact on the economic condition of the beneficiaries. As things stand,

the land allotted to individual farmers is too small in size to offer any scope for development. Scientific methods in farming could be employed only when the unit is viable. Though the case of the small farming unit has been advocated by agricultural scientists and agro-economists, this small unit would be viable only when the land is fit for cultivation and has basic infrastructural facilities. Thus, mere distribution of land will not serve any purpose unless matching support of agro-services are provided. Tractors and other agricultural implements could be loaned to them by the government on concessional rates. The same applies for providing irrigational facilities. Left to themselves, the beneficiaries could not be expected to develop their lands as their economic condition does not permit them to do so. The land so distributed could also be used for other productive purposes like dairy farming, sheep rearing etc.

No sincere attempt has been made in Dhanoli to find alternative sources for development, since there is no scope for developing agriculture because of the limited land left with that village. In future more agricultural land in Dhanoli may get merged in the urban limits of Agra and could be used for non-agricultural purposes like setting up of industries. There already exists a sharp contrast in the values and thinking of the people. A villager in Semra continues to attach importance to agricultural land, and as the data on occupational status shows, a majority of the sample population (67.50%) were cultivators/small and marginal farmers. However, the villagers

in Dhanoli are trying to commercialise shoe-making. They are also more open to new ideas and innovations. A majority of the Scheduled Caste population in Dhanoli (46.25%) as reflected in the sample, are employed as artisans in the shoe-making industry. Most of them complained that they were being exploited by their rich employers in Agra, who paid them very low wages for the type of work they were doing. A small group in the sample who had their own cottage industry, were dependent entirely on the middle men for marketing their goods. Even though the middle men were making the maximum profit in the bargain, there was no way of eliminating them from the scene, in the absence of any other alternative arrangement. There was no co-operative society or any Governmental organisation in Dhanoli or in Semra, for marketing agricultural produce and products from cottage industry.

In Semra the Government could concentrate on developing Agriculture. In the case of Dhanoli the government could set up an industry for manufacturing shoes and leather goods, thereby providing employment to a large number of artisans. However, the artisans should be first trained in the scientific techniques of shoe-making. The State Trading Corporation's office in Agra could be entrusted with marketing the goods, as leather goods have a good market in India and abroad.

The tremendous commercial potential that dairy development offers for improving the economic condition of the people, has also not been tapped so far. The data on animal wealth reveals that

though there has been a significant growth in the animal wealth of the respondents over the decade, practically all the animals were of local breed and of poor quality. Consequently, the productivity of these animals was very low. Dairy development needs to be taken up in a big way, specially in Dhanoli. Agra could serve as a growing market for these dairy products. A co-operative to market these products would bring more benefits to the producer. Thus, developing marketing facilities is as important as the development of new avenues of income generating enterprises. Here, again, support services in the field of animal husbandry need to be provided for maximizing the impact in the field of dairy development.

Training is yet another area that should merit Governmental attention. Though training has been recognised as an important tool for rural development, by the planners of our country, which has found expression in schemes like TRYSEM etc., there seems to be a big gap between training programmes and the training needs of the area. A majority of the respondents were not even aware about the existence of training centres in their village. In Semra there were no training centres whereas in Dhanoli a training centre under the TRYSEM scheme was functioning. A larger group of respondents (51.25%) in Dhanoli than in Semra (30%) expressed willingness to undergo training. The reasons for unwillingness were, lack of information about the schemes, stipend money is not even 1/4 of what they normally

earn, their satisfaction with present farm occupation, prefer jobs rather than training and opposition of higher castes to their presence.

An overwhelming majority in Dhanoli (58.54%) wanted to be trained in the modern techniques of shoe-making, while a large number (45.83%) in Semra wanted training in the mechanic trade. The other areas suggested by the respondents are Tailoring, Carpentry, Weaving and Driver's training. However, none from the sample had undergone training either under the TRYSEM scheme or any other scheme. The training centre in Dhanoli wore an empty look and though there were a number of trainees (50) on the rolls, there were only a handful of young boys between the age group of 12-16 years, present at the centre. The poor response may be attributed to primarily three reasons. Firstly, the training centre was imparting training in the weaving techniques, when a majority of respondents (the Scheduled Castes account for 46.50% of the total population of the village) had desired to be trained in the sophisticated techniques of shoe-making. Secondly, the stipend, paid at the rate of Rs.100 per month, was far from adequate. Thirdly, there was little awareness among the sample population regarding the training programmes. The indifferent attitude of officials, as alleged by the respondents, was responsible for this.

A survey of the training needs of the area should be undertaken, before deciding on the training courses. The employment potential of a particular craft should also be

looked into as also the demand for a particular product. People should be educated about the benefits that flow from training. The stipend should be increased or arrangements may be made to sell their products and thereby give them a share of the profits.

There was a separate training centre for women in Dhanoli, imparting training in the tailoring craft. Surprisingly, there was only one lady undergoing training here. The training requirements of women, needs also to be surveyed and then followed up by suitable programmes having employment potential. The participation of women in the work force of both the villages in general was very low. The same was true of the Scheduled Caste women. They should be encouraged to start cottage industries either individually or on a collective basis. This would provide supplementary source of income to the household, which in turn will have an impact on the standard of living of the Scheduled Castes in rural areas. With only the male members in the work force, most of the families are living below the minimum level of subsistence. As a result the nutritional intake, specially of children and women, is very low.

Next, the impact of government policy on the educational front is hardly visible. First, the lack of infrastructural facilities is responsible to a large extent for the sorry state of affairs. Secondly, corruption seems to be rampant in offices charged with the disbursement of scholarships and other facilities. Lack of awareness regarding schemes providing

scholarships and inability to send children to schools due to poverty were the two reasons given by a majority of respondents, for not availing of scholarship. Out of 160 families (80 each from Dhanoli and Semra) 31 families in Dhanoli and 33 families in Semra were sending their children to school. A common feeling expressed by the respondents was that no attempt is ever made to inform them about the schemes and programmes. That for getting any benefit they have to pay a share to the officials. A poor opinion about government schooling was held by a majority of the respondents. Most of them felt that if they could afford it, they would prefer sending their children to private schools. The only schools doing well in both the villages are privately run schools. Though the private schools face the handicap of inadequate accommodation, they still get the maximum number of students. The Government schools, on the other hand, presented a deserted look and though there were a good number of students enrolled in the different classes, there were only a handful to be seen in the classes.

A small committee consisting of village elders could be set up to look into charges of corrupt practices, with the power of taking up the case at the level of the Chief Development Officer. This committee should also be involved in the planning of programme implementation. The lack of participation of the local people is one of the main causes for the poor impact of programmes.

Most of the respondents had not heard about the adult literacy programme. In both Dhanoli and in Semra, the adult literacy programme had been abandoned altogether, due to lack of funds. However, even when the literacy classes were held, the Scheduled Castes could not attend them because of the attitude of the higher castes. This is one such area where the government could help the Scheduled Castes in a big way. One of the main reasons for the backwardness of the Scheduled Castes is their ignorance about various opportunities open to them. Many were not even aware of the fact, that Government was giving them land and house sites free. A good number had been duped into putting their thumb impression on papers and were cheated. Governmental agencies as well as voluntary organisations could extend a helping hand to the villagers by educating them about different programmes and also about scientific innovations in the agricultural and veterinary fields. The educated rural youth can be of great help to these agencies.

These organisations, with the help of educated rural youth could be effective in yet another area and that is in changing the attitudes of the higher castes towards the Scheduled Castes. Seventy percent of the respondents in Dhanoli and 90% in Semra said that there were offenders of untouchability Act, in their village. The practice of untouchability was more severe in far off Semra than in Urban oriented Dhanoli, though more people in Semra (87.50%) than in Dhanoli (63.75%) were aware of the untouchability Act. The majority of them felt that all the higher castes in general, and no particular caste, could be

held responsible for practising untouchability. A majority of the respondents in both the villages said that the Scheduled Caste members were ~~not~~ allowed to sit with other caste members in the panchayat meetings. They had separate wells and temples and could not go near those meant for caste Hindus. Eighty percent respondents in Dhanoli and 61.25% in Semra, were aware about incidents of beating, insult, abuse, torture, murder of Harijans resulting in social tensions in their village. The practice of untouchability was mainly held responsible for creating social tensions. The respondents who said that there was social harmony in their village, attributed it to the high proportion of the Scheduled Caste population.

The reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes in panchayat bodies has had no impact because of the unequal social status of these members vis-a-vis the other members. As a result, the Scheduled Caste members have failed to make any contribution towards the upliftment of their community, thus leaving the higher castes to dominate and take the lion's share of all benefits.

No amount of legislation can change the plight of the Scheduled Castes unless it is accompanied by a radical change in the Social attitude of the Caste Hindus. Educating the Scheduled Castes of their rights and privileges is as important as educating the caste Hindus of the equality of man. This awakening regarding the basic brotherhood of human beings can be achieved by personal examples set by religious and political

leaders. Unfortunately, there is a wide gap between precept and practice in this respect. Therefore, the mass conversions of Scheduled Castes to religions where the brotherhood of man is emphasised. The Media and social workers, too, play an important role in bringing about this social revolution. Politicians could set personal examples by inter-marrying and inter-mingling with them.

The appointment of Scheduled Caste village level workers will be a step in the right direction. The Scheduled Caste population in Dhanoli is a contented lot because their village level worker belongs to their community. They were of the view, that, since the appointment of the Scheduled Caste village level worker, they were getting a better deal as **he** was taking interest in educating them about the various policies and programmes that were in operation, for their benefit. A Scheduled Caste Village Level Worker will understand their problems better, than any other person, they felt. In Semra, on the other hand, the Scheduled Caste population is frustrated as their Village Level Worker maintained hardly any contact with them. They held the Government officials guilty of practising untouchability.

Each village should have a separate cell for registering cases of violation of the untouchability Act. At the same time the law-enforcing agencies should also be strengthened. But, the fact is, villages do not have the basic facility of a police outpost. This is responsible to a great extent in creating a

sense of insecurity among the Scheduled Caste population. Hence each village should have a well equipped and well staffed police outpost, with a good number of police personnel belonging to the Scheduled Castes. The Scheduled Castes seem to have no faith in the integrity of the police personnel. Stern action should be taken against dishonest policemen who have failed the scheduled castes in their hour of need. There seems to be a definite co-relation between the rising incidents of atrocities against the Scheduled Castes and police in-effectiveness.

The Government should have common housing schemes for all the weaker sections which includes the Scheduled Castes. However, the subsidy for the Scheduled Castes could be higher. We can expect the economically weaker sections of the higher castes to avail these incentives and live with the scheduled castes in common localities. This could lead to better interaction between the different communities. Thus, untouchability can be expected to be wiped off only through a gradual process.

The views of the of respondents about impact of different programmes on their socio-economic condition followed different patterns in the two villages. In Dhanoli, a larger number of respondents (85%), who had benefitted under one scheme or the other, were of the view that the benefits derived by the Scheduled Castes were only marginal. The same view was held by 80% of the non-beneficiaries. However, in Semra a good number (45%) of the beneficiaries felt that the benefits derived were substantial while none of the non-beneficiaries thought so.

Sixty per cent of the non-beneficiaries were of the view that the Scheduled Castes had benefitted only marginally whereas 40% said they have not benefitted at all.

In both Dhanoli and Semra, a majority of beneficiary as well as non-beneficiary respondents said that the programmes meant for the advancement of the Scheduled Castes have not been faithfully implemented. According to the beneficiaries, corruption was rampant in all quarters and only a part of the benefit trickled down to them. The non-beneficiaries could not reach the benefits as they could not bribe their way through.

Loans and grants were the most beneficial of all the privileges, according to both beneficiary and non-beneficiary respondents.

A larger number (72.50%) of beneficiary respondents in Dhanoli said that they produce sufficient to meet the consumption needs of the family. In Semra, however, the gap between the beneficiary and non-beneficiary was wider where 70% beneficiary and 40% non-beneficiaries said, they produced sufficient for their family needs.

A larger number of beneficiary respondents in Semra than in Dhanoli stated improvement in their standard of living. For the majority of non-beneficiaries, the position remained static in both the villages.

During the course of the survey, a pattern clearly emerged indicating the dominance of a few families to whom a lion's share of all the privileges had gone. They had benefitted from several programmes. Steeped in poverty and ignorance, the really needy ones continue to be neglected. The local officials appear to have little concern for the local people and particularly the Scheduled Castes. They are more concerned about achieving targets in terms of numbers. The merits of a particular case are rarely looked into.

The block officials are rarely available at the block office and the same is the case with the village level worker's office. The block level staff, in most cases, have taken up residence in Agra whereas the village level workers live at the block headquarters. This may be the reason for their non-availability.

In the ultimate analysis, any programme either for the economic or for the social upliftment of the Scheduled Castes will be a success only with the active involvement of all those concerned with its implementation. The impact of Government policy on the socio-economic condition of Scheduled Castes in rural areas, has been particularly poor mainly because of the inefficiency and indifference of the local level officials. There is a big communication gap due to the barriers that continue to exist between the officials and the Scheduled Castes. The impact of Government programmes would have been greater if the development departments had been

more sensitive to the problems and needs of the Scheduled Castes. Perhaps the bureaucracy could be made more effective by introducing the element of reward and punishment.

It is important that the policy instruments reflect the need of the area and the people living in it. While the two villages under study are at different stages of development and required variation in government approach, effort was at providing a uniform policy package. Local conditions have to be taken into account through improved planning procedures and by providing ample opportunities for people's participation.

Thus, though land has been distributed to a large number of families in Semra, it has failed to make an impact on the economic condition of the beneficiaries primarily because of the following reasons. Firstly, the land allotted was too small in size. Secondly, the land was underdeveloped. And lastly, no matching support services were provided. Most of the individual farming units are devoid of productive assets that could enhance their production and productivity. In Dhanoli, a sincere attempt has not been made to find alternative sources for development since there is little scope for the development of agriculture in this village. Not much has been done to improve the lot of the rural artisans who constitute an overwhelming majority in Dhanoli. The tremendous potential that dairy development offers for improving the economic condition of the people, has also not been tapped so far. Training is yet another

neglected area, where the aspirations and needs of the people have not been taken into account. The situation on the social front presents an equally disappointing picture.

The impact of land distribution would be greater if the co-operative element in farming is introduced and matching support services in agriculture, animal husbandry, soil conservation etc. are provided. Steps should be taken to help the shoe-makers in Dhanoli. Dairy development should be taken up in a big way specially in Dhanoli and here again, support services should be provided. A survey of the training needs and requirements of the area should be undertaken. The employment potential of different crafts should be looked into as also the demand for a particular product, before deciding on the training courses. Employment oriented training courses for women should be designed whereby they could provide supplementary income to the family. Steps should be taken to make people aware of the various opportunities open to them. The communication gap between the officials and the Scheduled Castes could be removed by the appointment of more Scheduled Caste village level workers. Government functionaries found guilty of practicing untouchability should be severely dealt with. Also, common housing programme may be effective in ending segregation.

Progress of Scheduled Caste and Social Welfare Departmental Schemes, during the years 1978-79 to 1980-81.

S.No.	Item	1978-79	Expen- diture	No. of benefi- ciaries	1979-80	Expendi- ture	No. of benefi- ciaries	1980-81	Expen- diture	No. of benefi- ciaries
		Total Gra- nts (Rs.)			Total Gran- ts (Rs.)			Total Gra- nts (Rs.)		
1.	Pre-Matric scholarship	5,96,000	5,96,000	3,937	8,52,650	8,52,650	8,150	8,03,000	8,03,000	8,883
2.	Pre-Matric Qualification scholarship							26,000	26,000	347
3.	Post-Matric scholarship	19,50,000	19,50,000	2,449	18,00,000	18,00,000	2,233	30,50,000	30,50,000	4,172
4.	Financial assistance in Mechanical Engineering.	48,500	48,500	114	57,000	57,000	143	30,000	80,000	153
5.	Technical scholarship	22,000	22,000	135	22,000	22,000	28	44,000	44,000	134
6.	Scholarship for students going outside the country.				43,500	43,500	22	21,750	21,750	30
7.	Pre-Matric scholarship compensation grant.	8,00,825	8,00,825	7,600	8,10,000	8,10,000	11,688	8,90,000	8,90,000	14,504

----- continued -----

Table 1.01 (Appendix- I)

1. 2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
8. Miscellaneous.	34,400	34,400	2	54,500	54,500	2	27,600	27,600	2
9. Post-Matric Scheduled Caste prize scheme.	800	800	2	3,200	3,200	8	4,000	4,000	10
10. Class X first class prize scheme for scheduled caste.							8,400	8,400	21
11. Post-Matric compensation to the failed scheduled caste students.	4,712	4,712	34	12,000	12,000	131	12,000	12,000	112
12. Grant for the removal of untouchability.	250	250	2				305	305	3
13. Grant for the construction of scheduled caste Hostels									
14. Financial assistance to the scheduled caste who have been exploited				15,000	15,000	3	99,000	99,000	2
15. Total (on all activities including schemes for other backward classes)	60,43,097	60,43,097	23,650	67,86,322	67,86,322	31,984	79,37,938	79,37,938	48,124

Table 102 (Appendix - II)
Subsidy given to Scheduled Caste beneficiaries
by IRDA AGRA.

Year	Period	No. of Beneficiaries	Amount
78 - 79	1/79 to 3/79	168	97,450
79 - 80	4/79 to 3/80	387	3,07,810
80 - 81	4/80 to 3/81	1581	29,72,314

Source:- Integrated Rural Development Agency Distt. Agra.

Table 1.03 (Appendix III)

Annual Progress of Drinking Water Schemes for Scheduled Castes in District Agra during the Years 1971-72 to 1980-81.

Sl. No	Year	No. of blocks under Scheme.	Target Completed Wells	Wells under construction	Not Started construction work.	Total grants.	Expenditure	Balance
1.	1971-72	18	128	127	1	-	370390	370200
2.	1973-74	16	16	16	-	16	50000	50000
3.	1974-75	8	8	8	-	8	45000	45000
4.	1975-76	7	7	7	-	7	30000	30000
5.	1976-77	8	8	8	-	8	35000	34400
6.	1977-78	18	91	85	6	91	392000	375618
7.	1978-79	18	316	254	46	16	1360000	1228327
8.	1979-80	15	70	56	14	70	581000	403341
9.	1980-81	11	30	-	-	30	249000	-
Total:		13	674	561				

Source:- Office of the Additional Distt. Development Officer (Harijan Welfare) Distt. Agra.

Table 1.04 (Appendix IV)
Annual Progress of Housing Scheme for Scheduled Castes and Weaker
Sections in District Agra during 1979-80 and 1980-81.

Sl. No.	Year	Target	Completed Houses	Under construction	Not started	Total grants	Total Expenditure	Balance
1.	1979-80	563	562	1	-	128590	1056178	229812
2.	1980-81	216	108	24	84	482400	154600	327800
3.	* 1980-81	25	-	25	-	54750	9946	44804
Total:		804	670	50	84	1823140	1220724	602416

* 1980-81 25 Wells under special component Scheme
in Narkhi Block.

Source:- Office of the Additional Distt. Development Officer (Harijan Welfare)
Distt. Agra.

Details of Special Component
Plan, District Agra

1.	Number of banks in District, through whom loans were sanctioned	66
2.	No. of Scheduled Caste families whose loan applications were accepted	2336
3.	Details about sanctioned applications	
	A - Total amount of loan	5783060-00
	B - Amount of subsidy from item 'A'	1827686-00
	C - Amount of margin money from amount of loan (A)	1063844-00
4.	No. of Scheduled Caste families to whom loan was distributed	1239
5.	Details of amount distributed to the families as per item - 4	
	A - Total amount of loan	3160953-00
	B - Total amount of subsidy from the account - 'A'	573010-00
	C - Amount of margin money from total amount - 'A'	120175-00
6. i)	Amount of subsidy given by Corporation out of item 5B	104000-00
ii)	Amount of subsidy given by other institutions from item 5B	464010-00
7.	Total amount transferred to Banks on sanctioned money by corporation	
	Subsidy	165000-00
	Margin money	182000-00
	Credit	<u>347,000-00</u>

Source: Office of the Chief Development Officer, Agra.

Table 3.02 (Appendix - VI)

Classification by literacy and Industrial Category of Workers and non-workers according to main activity among Scheduled Castes.

Total Persons	Illiterates			Literate persons			Educated Workers (Total Workers)		
	M	F	M	M	F	M	M	F	F (I-IX)
T 80,005,398	41,343,194	38,662,204	32,098,664	36,171,327	9,244,530	2,490,377	22,348,971	6,722,388	
R 70,449,154	36,265,715	34,183,439	28,997,654	32,454,079	7,263,061	1,729,360	19,925,730	6,156,984	
U 9,556,244	5,077,479	4,478,765	3,101,010	3,717,748	1,976,469	761,017	2,423,241	565,404	
T 18,548,916	9,784,029	8,764,887	8,108,163	8,549,515	1,675,866	215,372	5,223,601	1,039,708	
R 17,147,032	9,013,421	8,133,611	7,591,897	7,992,393	1,421,524	141,218	4,877,044	996,263	
U 1,401,884	770,608	631,276	516,266	557,122	254,342	74,154	346,557	43,445	
T 479,318	261,014	218,304	196,849	206,259	64,165	12,045	122,533	3,423	
R 314,351	172,288	142,063	135,762	138,457	36,526	3,606	87,115	2,301	
U 164,967	38,726	76,241	61,087	67,802	27,639	8,439	35,418	1,122	

Table 3.02 (Appendix -vi)

	I Cultivators		II A Agricultural Labourers		III Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting and plantations, orchards & allied activities.		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
India	T	7,151,680	949,887	10,231,607	4,813,154	506,987	123,932
	R	7,052,618	938,223	9,893,738	4,641,772	455,547	102,275
	U	99,062	11,664	337,869	171,382	51,440	21,657
U.P.	T	2,462,660	256,911	1,951,408	689,709	32,445	3,391
	R	2,447,577	255,926	1,920,375	683,685	29,646	3,177
	U	15,083	985	31,033	6,024	2,799	214
Agra.	T	33,057	496	30,050	852	811	45
	R	32,347	480	29,234	813	643	26
	U	710	16	816	39	168	19

IV
MINING AND
QUARRYING

V

Manufacturing, Processing, Servicing
and repairs.VI
Construction(a) Household industry
(b) Other than
Household industry

Maudslayi									
		F		M		F		M	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
India	T	158,230	28,980	765,485	201,740	901,812	132,359	307,986	43,465
	R	107,635	20,637	636,994	167,682	399,425	78,386	166,450	19,030
	U	50,595	8,343	128,491	34,058	502,387	53,973	141,536	24,435
U.P.	T	2,616	528	142,939	20,464	138,811	7,616	44,153	823
	R	2,367	520	115,758	16,330	70,912	5,051	20,284	551
	U	249	8	27,181	4,134	67,839	2,565	14,869	272
Agra	T	224	-	10,794	275	18,056	114	3,045	57
	R	153	-	6,101	177	4,961	65	1,677	28
	U	71	-	4,693	98	13,095	49	1,369	29

VII

VIII

IX

X

Trade and Commerce			Transport, storage and communication			Other services			Non-workers		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
India	T	337,179	48,190	467,786	31,901	1,520,219	348,780	18,994,223	31,939,816		
	R	162,076	21,113	157,997	7,718	893,250	160,148	16,339,985	28,026,455		
	U	175,103	27,077	309,789	24,183	626,969	183,632	2,654,238	3,913,361		
U.P.	T	61,184	3,575	68,019	1,077	319,366	55,614	4,560,428	7,725,179		
	R	26,967	1,244	22,250	133	211,908	29,646	4,136,377	7,137,348		
	U	34,217	2,331	45,769	944	107,458	25,968	424,051	587,831		
Agra	T	3,065	73	6,069	72	17,362	1,439	138,491	214,881		
	R	814	25	1,287	5	9,898	682	85,173	139,762		
	U	2,251	48	4,782	67	7,464	757	53,308	75,119		

Source: Census of India 1971.

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